The Judgement of ahl al-Sunnah
On Jamal and Ṣiffīn



قال : أخبرني عبد الله بن أحمد بن حنبل ، قال : كنتُ بين يَدي أبي جالسًا ذات يوم ، فجاءَت طائفة من الكَرْخية فذكروا خلافة أبي بكر وخلافةَ عمر وخلافة عثمان فأكثروا ، وذكروا خلافة علي بن أبي طالب فزادوا وأطالوا ، فرفع أبي رأسه إليهم فقال : يا هؤلاءِ ، قد أكثرتم القولَ في علي والخلافة ، إن الخلافة لم تُزيِّن عليًّا بل علي زيَّنها

A group of people came to visit Imām Aḥmed Ibn Ḥanbal and began to discuss, in detail, the Caliphate of Abū Bakr, `Umar and Uthmān (raḍi Allah anhum). Then they mentioned the Caliphate of Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib and prolonged their insolent conversation. Imām Aḥmed ibn Hanbal raised his head and said: O People! You have have spoken a great deal about Alī and the Caliphate. (I say) The Caliphate did not beautify Alī but Alī beautified the Caliphate.

(Manāqib al-Imām Aḥmed: Ibn al-Jawzī al-Hanbalī)

Syed Hasnain Bukhari

For My Sons Ali al-Naqi & Hasan al-Askari

Introduction

On 23rd of January, 2017; Muftī Abū Layth in a reply to the question, about the battle between Imam Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān, launched a scathing attack on Imam Alī ibn Ṭālib ع by exonerating Mu`āwīyah and criticising Imam Alī. Abū Layth explicitly laid the blame at the doorstep of Imam Alī ع. To blame Imam Alī in his campaigns in response to the battles of Jamal and Ṣiffīn is a trademark belief of Nawāṣib.

Had the need not arisen and a stream of requests not being made to respond, we would have remained quiet on the issue because the matter concerns Ṣaḥābah and we ought to be careful in discussing about their disagreements. However, al-Bayhaqī in his Manāqib al-Shāfi`ī after discussing the same issue, states:

فنقول ما قال سلفنا ، رضى الله عنهم ، فى كل واحدة من الطائفتين
عند الحاجة إليه . ونسكت عما [سكتوا عنه] عند الاستغناء به عنه .
وبالله التوفيق .

We only say what our predecessors (raḍī Allah anhum) have said about the two warring groups, when required; otherwise, we would have remained quiet.

In what follows, a refutation of this Nāṣibī contention will be furnished in light of the judgement of the prominent Imāms of ahl al-Sunnah. All ahl al-Sunnah believe that Imam Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib ع was on Ḥaqq and upon truth in his battles: Jamal and Ṣiffīn. The majority Sunnī view is that not only He was upon the truth but those fighting him were unjust rebels. The minority Sunnī view is that Imam Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib was indeed in the right and the opposition were rebels and upon error but their mistake was that of ijtihād. In any case, all agree that the ḥaqq was with Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib ع and at no point He was upon error, contrary to that which was argued by muftī abū layth; who first criticises Ḥaydar al-Karrār ع and then says we should not criticise Ṣaḥabah. These are mutually exclusive claims.

The unacademic and unjustified verbiage by Muftī Abū Layth had hurt the feelings of many Muslims, in particular, the lovers of ahl al-Bayt. It is strange that there is a large number of English speaking Sunnī scholars who at the slightest criticism of Mu`awīyah ibn Abī Sufyān reach the boiling point. Yet, I have waited months for them to respond to the criticism by Abū Layth but not a word uttered. By the grace of God, Imām Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib is our Imām and we will defend him.

However, I have endeavoured to reply to the main points in the Nāṣbī debate and request the reader to study the document in one sitting to grasp the continuity of the argument as a whole. In what follows, firstly, the battle of Jamal is discussed briefly and then the matters relating to Ṣiffīn are explicated in detail including the inaccurate objection about the lack of participants from ṣaḥābah at Ṣiffīn. Thirdly, a discussion on the faḍā'il of Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān is advanced and other matters relating to it. Fourthly, some observations about the historiographical framework are

explored. Fifthly, a detailed study of the views of the Imāms of ahl al-Sunnah from various stripes and different times is presented in light of the objection raised by Abū Layth. Finally, a conclusion of the arguments in the article is drawn.

At the start, let us cite some ṣaḥīḥ aḥadīth to provide a wider framework of the struggle of Mawlā Alī ع. The Noble Messenger ﷺ said: Ali will fight wars upon the interpretation of the Qur'ān as I ﷺ fought wars upon the revelation of the Qur'ān. This is a Ṣaḥīh Ḥadīth reported by al-Sunan al-Kubrā of al-Nasā'ī, Musnad of Imam Aḥmed, al-Muṣannaf of Ibn Abī Shaybah, Ṣahīḥ of Ibn Ḥibbān, Musnad of Abū Ya`lā, Dalā'il al-Nubūwwah of al-Bayhaqī and by a host of other Ḥadīth masters. Indeed, what matters is the *sanad* and there are prominent ḥadīth scholars grading it Ṣaḥīh. From the contemporary Salafist-Wahābī scholars to earlier Sunnī Imāms. For example, Shu`ayb al-Arna'ūṭ says in his comments on al-Iḥsān bi-taqrīb Ṣaḥīḥ ibn Ḥibbān that **اسناده على شرط مسلم** its chain of transmission is upon the conditions of Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim. Another Salafī scholar Waṣī Allah ibn Moḥammed `Abbās says in his marginalia on the book Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah of Imam Aḥmed Ibn Ḥanbal that **اسناده صحيح** its chain of reporters is Ṣaḥīh. Here it is cited from Majma` al-Zawā'id of al-Haythamī:

رواه الطبراني ورجاله ثقات . وعن أبي سعيد الخدري قال سمعت رسول الله ﷺ
يقول إن منكم من يقاتل على تأويل القرآن كما قاتلت على تنزيله فقال أبو بكر أنا هو
يا رسول الله قال لا قال عمر انا هو يا رسول الله قال لا ولكنه خاصف النعل وكان
أعطى علياً نعله يخصفها . رواه أبو يعلى ورجاله رجال الصحيح . وعن علي بن

Abū Sa`īd al-Khudrī says that I heard the Messenger of Allah ﷺ say that amongst you is the one who will fight wars upon the interpretation of the Qur'ān as I ﷺ fought wars upon the revelation of the Qur'ān. So Abū Bakr said: Am I that person O Messenger of Allah? He said: No. Then `Umar said am I that person? He replied: No, but it is the one who is repairing the shoe. The Prophet ﷺ had given Alī his shoes, who was repairing them.

In al-Mawsū'ah al-fiqhīyah published by the religious ministry of Kuwait, for example, the meaning of ta'wīl in the ḥadīth is the following:

والقتال مع التأويل هو القتال مع البغاة،

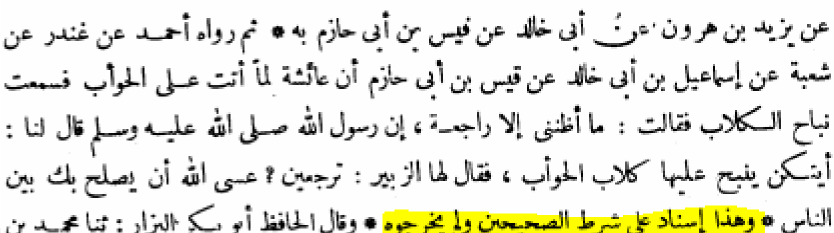
To fight based upon interpretation means fighting against the rebels.

Hence, it is obvious that the wars which Imam Alī fought were foretold by the Blessed Prophet ﷺ and we also know that his fight was according to the Qur'ān and upon its true meaning as vouched for by Rasūl Allah ﷺ Himself.

The battle of Jamal

During al-Khilāfah al-Rāshidah of Mawlā Alī, he encountered three challenges of war: Jamal, Ṣiffīn and Nahrawān. After, `Uthmān ibn Affān was martyred at his house in Medina. Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and Umm al-Mu'minīn `Ayesha al-Ṣiddīqā demanded an *expeditious* Qiṣāṣ. Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr brought Umm al-Muminīn Ayesha al-Ṣiddiqā on a camel from Mecca to Baṣra for this purpose. Hence, it is called the battle of the Camel. However, their misunderstandings with Imam Alī were dispelled and all three blessed personalities regretted their decision to fight Imam Alī and this is well documented and agreed upon. See their their biographies and Ḥadīth literature for details. For example, you can see Ṭabaqāt of Ibn Sa`d, al-Istīab of Ibn `abd al-Barr, Usud al-Ghābāh of Ibn al-'Athīr, al-Iṣābah of al-`Asqalānī and al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāhayah of Ibn Kathīr-to name but a few.

In particular, the Mother of believers `Ayesha al-Ṣiddiqā[1] regretted her decision all her life, in Fatḥ al-Bārī of Ibn Ḥajr al-`Asqalānī and Majma` al-Zawā'id of al-Haythamī, for example, it states that once someone mentioned the battle of Jamal in front of her and she was immensely remorseful and said: I wish I had remained at home, it is dearer to me than my wish to have given birth to the children of Rasūl Allah ﷺ. Furthermore, the following Ṣaḥīḥ report would be sufficient in this matter. It is reported in Ṣaḥīh Ibn Ḥibbān, Musnad of Aḥmed, al-Muṣannaf of Ibn Abī Shaybah, Musnad of Abū Ya`lā, al-Fitan of Ibn Ḥammād and others. al-`Asqalanī says in Fatḥ al-Bārī with regards to Ibn Ḥibbān's narration that **سنده على شرط الصحيح** its chain of transmission is upon the condition of Ṣaḥīh. al-Haythamī says in Majma` al-Zawā'id in relation to the report from Musnad of Imam Aḥmed that **رجال احمد رجال الصحيح** the chain of transmitters of Ahmed are Ṣaḥīh. From contemporary Ḥadīth scholars, Shu`ayb al-Arna'ūṭ in his comments on Ṣaḥīh Ibn Ḥibbān says **اسناده على شرط الشيخين** its chain of transmitters is upon the condition of al-Bukharī and Muslim. Here it is quoted from al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah of Ibn Kathīr in which he states that it is reported upon the conditions of al-Bukhari and Muslim:


عن يزيد بن هرون عن أبي خالد عن قيس بن أبي حازم به • ثم رواه أحمد عن غندر عن
شعبة عن إسماعيل بن أبي خالد عن قيس بن أبي حازم أن عائشة لما أتت على الحوأب فسمعت
نباح الكلاب فقالت : ما أظنني إلا راجعة ، إن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال لنا :
أيتكن ينبح عليها كلاب الحوأب ، فقال لها الزبير : ترجعين ؟ عسى الله أن يصلح بك بين
الناس • وهذا إسناد على شرط الصحيحين ولم يخرجوه • وقال الحافظ أبو بكر البزار : ثنا محمد بن

When `Ayesha reached a place called Ḥaw'ab and heard the barking of the dogs, She said: I want to go back because I heard the Messenger of Allah ﷺto his wives that it will be a sad state of affairs when one of you will have the dogs of Ḥaw'ab bark upon her. al-Zubayr said: Are you returning? When people see you perhaps, they will reconcile.

This also proves that it happened as the Noble Prophet ﷺ foretold and they realised their error of judgement. None has rejected this ḥadīth except for a prominent nāṣibī scholar al-Qāḍī ibn al-

[1] After realisation, she was escorted back to Medina from Baṣra with respect and dignity by her own brother, one of the commanders of Imam Ali, Moḥammed ibn Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq.

Arabī al-Mālikī and he has been refuted by other great masters of Islamic scholarship. For example, the great Mufassir of the Qur'ān, al-Qurṭūbī al-Mālikī refutes him in his al-Tadhkirah:

والعجب من القاضي أبي بكر ابن العربي كيف أنكر هذا الحديث في كتبه
منها في كتاب العواصم من القواصم، وذكر أنه لا يوجد أصلاً[٧]، وظهر
العلماء المحدثين[١] بإنكاره غباوة وجهلاً، وشهرة هذا الحديث من فلق الصبح
أجلى

It is strange that al-Qaḍī Abū Bakr ibn al-Arabī denied this ḥadīth in his books, such as in his al-`awāṣim min al-qawāṣim. He said that this ḥadīth has no basis. By rejecting it, he has manifested his *stupidity* and *ignorance* upon scholars of Ḥadīth and this Ḥadīth in its authenticity is as clear as the bright day light.

Nawāṣib usually rely on al-Qāḍī Ibn al-Arabī[2] for their arguments and denials. He has been refuted for his antagonism towards Imam Ḥusayn ع by the`Ulamā, *even* by Ibn Khaldūn in his Muqaddima. However, Shah `Abd al-`Azīz Muḥaddith al-Dehlavī, common scholar of Deobandīs and Barelwīs in the subcontinent, the author of Tuḥfah Ithnā `Asharīyyah, the momentous refutation of Rawāfiḍ, says in his Fatāwa Azīzī about Nawāṣib:

برتحریم سجده ودر مطول عن ذکر الناسخ انتهی منه نواصب فرقه جدا است ورای خوارج ودر مغرب
وشام بسیار بوده اند ومتوکل عباسی و وزیر او علی ابن جهم نیز از جمله نواصب است خوارج جمیع مقاتلین را
از صحابه همچو طلحه وزبیر وامیر المومنین علی مرتضی ومعاویه وعمرو بن العاص رض را تکفیر میکنند ونواصب
محض عداوت امیر المومنین علی مرتضی کرم الله وجهه وذریت طاهره او شعار خود دارند واز متاخرین
حافظ مغربی نیز ناصبی است منه درباب موالات کفار آنچه فقها نوشته اند تفصیلش میخواهد در شرح
عین العلم واحیاء العلوم مطالعه فرموده باشند حاصلش آنکه موالات بمعنی دوستی اگر من جهة الدین

Nawāṣib are a separate sect from Khawārij, they were in large numbers in al-Shām and Maghreb. Caliph al-Mutawakkil Abbasī and his wazīr Ali ibn Jahm were from Nawāṣib. Khawārij considered the ṣaḥābah who fought each other as kāfirs. According to them Ṭalḥa, Zubayr, Amīr al-Mu`minīn Ali al-Murtaḍā and Mu`āwīyah and `Amr ibn al-Ās were kafirs. But Nawāṣib only made their trademark to hate `Amīr al-Mu`minīn Alī al-Murtaḍā *karram Allahu wajhahu* and his descendents. From the later scholars Ḥāfiẓ Maghrebī (qāḍī abu bakr ibn al-arabī) was a Nāṣibī.

al-Qāḍī Abū Bakr Ibn al-Arabī also held the opinion that Yazīd ibn Mu`āwīyah was right and al-Ḥusayn ibn Ali ع deserved to be killed. *Na`ūḍhubillah!*

[2] Ibn al-Arabī is not to be confused with al-Shaykh al-Akbar who is called Ibn Arabī without the particle 'al' to differentiate between the two.

However, thus far it has been established that Mawlā Alī was indeed on ḥaqq in fighting at the battle of Jamal from the perspective of Ṣaḥīḥ Aḥādīth and also by the admission of the blessed companions Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and Umm al-Mu'minīn `Ayesha al-Ṣiddīqa that they were mistaken to launch the campaign of Jamal in opposition to Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.

Furthermore, prior to a discussion on Ṣiffīn, briefly the judgement of the four schools is presented on the battle of Jamal to corroborate the above argument:

Ḥanafī Opinion

al-Imam al-A`ẓam Abū Ḥanīfah unequivocally passes his judgement as reported by Abū al-`Ulā Ṣa`d ibn Mohammed al-Ḥanafī in his kitāb al-`Itiqād, al-Biyāḍī in his al-Uṣūl al-Mūnīfah, al-Nasafī in his Tabṣirah, al-Kurdarī in his Manāqib Abī Ḥanīfah. Here it is quoted from al-Muwaffiq al-Makkī al-Ḥanafī in his Manāqīb Abī Ḥanīfah:

والحسن بن عمارة يرون القراءة على العالم وقراءته عليك سواء ● ✻ وبه قال حدثني عبد الله بن محمد
ابن سعيد ✻ انبأ احمد بن يحيى انبأ الوليد بن حماد عن محمد الحسن بن زياد عن ابي حنيفة انه قال ما قاتل احد
عليا الا وعلي اولى بالحق منه ولولا ما سار علي فيهم ما علم احد كيف السيرة في المسلمين ● ✻ وبه قال

Abū Hanīfah said: Alī was on ḥaqq in all his battles against whomever he fought and had we not the practice of Alī we would not have known the rulings for battles between Muslims.

al-Qāḍī Abū al-`Ulā al-Ḥanafī further states in Kitāb al-`Itiqād:

عن أبِي يوسف رحمه الله أنه قال: سمعت أبا حنيفة ـ رضي الله عنه ـ يقول: عليٌّ بن أبي طالب كرم الله وجهه حُجَّتُنا عند الله يوم القيامة، ولولا علي ما عَلِمْنا كيف قتالُ أهلِ البغي، أو كيف نقاتل أهلَ القبلة

Imam al-Qāḍī Abū Yūsuf says that Imam Abū Ḥanīfah said: Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib is our proof/ḥujjah on the day of judgement; had it not been for Alī, we would not have known the ruling for fighting against rebels or people of Qiblah.

Furthermore, Imam al-A`ẓam Abū Ḥanīfah says as stated by al-Muwaffiq al-Makkī al-Ḥanafī in Manāqib and al-Kurdarī in his Manāqib of Abū Ḥanīfah:

ابي حنيفة عن حماد قال قال ابراهيم علي أحب الينا من عثمان ● ✻ وبه قال حدثني احمد بن محمد الصيرفي ✻
انبأ عبد الله بن احمد انبأ ابراهيم بن اسحاق انبأ نوح بن دراج قال قال ابو حنيفة وسئل عن يوم الجمل فقال سار
علي فيه بالعدل وهو علم المسلمين السنة في قتال اهل البغي ● ✻ واخبرني ابو المعالي الفضل بن سهل الحلبي ✻

Imam Abū Ḥanīfah was asked about the battle of Jamal, He replied: Alī was upon justice and it is Alī who taught Muslims the Sunnah of how to derive rulings for battles with Muslim rebels.

al-Zayla`ī al-Ḥanafī in Naṣb al-Rāyah states:

وأجمعوا على أن علياً كان مصيباً فى قتال أهل الجمل ، وهم طلحة ،
والزبير ، وعائشة ، ومن معهم ، وأهل صفين ، وهم معاوية ، وعسكره ، وقد أظهرت عائشة الندم ،

There is consensus of opinion/Ijmā` that Alī was in the right in his battle with Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, `Āyeshā and those with them, and against the opposition at Ṣiffīn that is Mu`āwīyah and his army and `Āyeshā had expressed her remorse for participation.

Therefore, the Ḥanafī position from their eponymous founder to later scholars is that Ḥaqq was with Imam Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib ع in his campaign at the battle of Jamal.

Mālikī Opinion

Moḥammed ibn Aḥmed al-Qurṭubī al-Mālikī, the mufassir, muḥaddith and faqīh unequivocally states and assents to the view in his *al-Tadhkirah* that there is consensus that Imam Ali ع was on the ḥaqq in his battles. He says:

والإجماع منعقد على أن طائفة الإمام طائفة عدل، والأخرى طائفة
بغي، ومعلوم أن علياً ؓ كان الإمام

Ijmā` has been established that the party of al-Imām was just and the opposing party were rebels. And Alī was the truthful Imām.

Imam Al-Qurṭubī al-Mālikī explicitly confirms the Mālikī position as a general rule that Imam Alī ع was in the right in all his battles. More on Mālikī opinions in the section on Ṣiffīn.

Shāfi`ī Opinion

Imam al-Shāfi`ī's opinion is stated by al-Bayhaqī in his al-`Itiqād that whoever fought Imam Alī during his caliphate was a rebel/bāghī:

وكل من نازع أمير المؤمنين علي بن أبي طالب في إمارته فهو
باغ . على هذا عهدت مشايخنا وبه قال ابن إدريس - يعني الشافعي - رحمه الله

> Whoever fought Amīr al-Muminīn Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib during his Caliphate was a rebel and our teachers committed us to this position and it is the position of Ibn Idrīs al-Shāfi`ī

Abū Manṣūr al-Baghdādī al-Shāfi`ī in his Uṣūl al-Dīn decisively states:

اجمع اصحابنا على ان علياً رضى الله عنه كان مصيبا فى قتال اصحاب

الجمل وفى قتال اصحاب معاوية بصفين .

> There is agreement of our school (Ashā'ira) that Alī (raḍi Allah anhu) was in the right in his fight with people of Jamal and right in his fight with party of Mu`āwīyah at Ṣiffīn.

Ḥanbalī Opinion

The prominent Ḥanbalī Imams, namely, Muwaffiq al-Dīn al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī and Ibn Qudāmah al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī, identically state in al-Mughnī and Its al-Sharḥ al-Kabīr:

وأجمعت الصحابة رضي الله عنهم على قتال البغاة

فان أبا بكر رضي الله عنه قاتل مانعي الزكاة وعلي قاتل أهل الجمل وصفين وأهل النهروان

> The Ṣaḥābah (raḍī Allah anhum) had unanimous agreement about fighting against the rebels. Abū Bakr (raḍī Allah anhu) fought against the rejecters of zakāh and Alī fought against the people of Jamal, Ṣiffīn and Nahrawān.

Towards concluding this section, here is a Ṣaḥīḥ Ḥadīth from al-Mustadrak of Imam al-Ḥākim. It is presented from the famous abridged version by al-Dhahabī; who was a fierce critic of al-Ḥākim, comments in his Talkhīs al-Mustadrak that this ḥadīth is ṣaḥīh upon the conditions of al-Bukharī and Muslim:

﴿حدثني﴾ ابو سعيد احمد بن يعقوب الثقفي من اصل كتابه ثنا الحسن بن علي بن شبيب المعمري ثنا عبد الله بن
صالح الازدي حدثني محمد بن سليمان ابن الاصبهاني عن سعيد بن مسلم المكي عن عمرة بنت عبد الرحمن قالت
لما سار علي الى البصرة دخل على ام سلمة زوج النبي صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم يودعها فقالت سر في حفظ الله وفي كنفه
فو الله انك لعلى الحق والحق معك ولولا اني اكره ان اعصي الله ورسوله فانه امرنا صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم ان نقر
في بيوتنا لسرت معك ولكن والله لارسلن معك من هو افضل عندي واعز علي من نفسي ابني عمر * هذه
الاحاديث الثلاثة كلها صحيحة على شرط الشيخين ولم يخرجاه *

Alī was on his way to Baṣra, when He visited Mother of Believers Umm Salamah to say good bye. She said: May Allah help you and protect you! By God! you are upon ḥaqq and ḥaqq is with you. Rasul Allah ﷺ had asked us to stay in our homes, if I had not this prohibition by Allah and His Messenger then I would have come with you. But I am sending with you the one who is better than me for this matter and dearer to me than my life, my son `Umar.

This understanding of Qur'ān and Sunnah by Umm al-Mu'minīn Umm Salamah is also echoed by Mother of believers `Āyesha al-Ṣiddīqa. She had regretted her decision to participate at Jamal as aforementioned from Ṣaḥīḥ Ḥadīth from her, during the campaign. Later, also there are various reports of this remorse and amongst them, the following mentioned by Abū Ḥayyān in al-Baḥr al-Muḥīt, al-Qurṭubī in his Tafsīr and here from al-Dhahabī in his Sīyar:

المؤمنين في حقِّ عائشة مع ما وقع بينهما ، فرضيَ اللهُ عنهما . ولا ريبَ أن
عائشةَ ندمتْ ندامةً كُلِّيةً على مسيرها إلى البصرة وحضورها يومَ الجمل ، وما
ظَنَّت أنَّ الأمرَ يبلغُ ما بلغ . فعن عُمارةَ بنِ عُمير ، عمن سمع عائشة : إذا
قرأتْ : ﴿ وقَـرْنَ في بُيُوتِـكُنَّ ﴾ [الأحـزاب : ٣٣] بكتْ حتـى تَبُـلَّ
خِمارَها(١) .

al-Dhahabī comments: There is no doubt at all that `Āyesha regretted completely at her travel to Baṣra and participation at Jamal...when she heard the recitation of the āyah addressed to the Wives of the Prophet ﷺ "abide in your houses" She wept so profusely that her veil covering became wet.

In conclusion to this section, it has been justified that Imam Alī ibn Abī Ṭālibع was on ḥaqq in his campaign at the battle of Jamal and those who fought him were unjust-rebels. It ***must*** be noted that Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and Umm al-Muminīn `Āyeshā had recognised their error and retracted from it. They were of the opinion of an expeditious qiṣāṣ but eventually realised that the opinion of Imam Alī in this matter was the correct one. Hence, they cannot be called bāghīs. Had there been space, I would have detailed unfortunate murders of Ṭalha that he was killed by Marwān mal`ūn and al-Zubayr was killed by Ibn Jurmūz. However, for our purposes, it is sufficient to conclude that Ḥaqq at the battle of Jamal was with Mawla Alī as vouched for by the Ṣaḥīh aḥadīth and unanimous agreement of ahl al-Sunnah. As well as the three prominent participants named above. All others who continued fighting at Jamal were unjust-rebels

Ammār ibn Yāsir and Ṣiffīn

The battle of Ṣiffīn was fought between Imam Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān after Jamal. Amongst the prominent personalities to be martyred at this battle was Ammār ibn Yāsir, about whom the Noble Prophet ﷺsaid that `Ammār will be killed by the rebels. Hence, providing a normative standard for a clear judgement on the issue. `Ammār ibn Yāsir was from al-Sābiqūn al-Awwalūn category of Ṣaḥābah and accepted Islam when there were less than forty Muslims in total. Both of his parents also accepted Islam and his mother Sumayyah is the first martyr in the history of Islam and his father Yāsir was the second person to have been martyred in Islam. `Ammār was also a Badrī Ṣaḥābī. His excellences are many. For example in Ṣaḥīh al-Bukhārī Abū Dardā’ says:

قَالَ : أَلَيْسَ فِيكُمْ — أَوْ مِنْكُمْ — الَّذِي أَجَارَهُ اللهُ عَلَى لِسَانِ نَبِيِّهِ صلى الله
عليه وسلم ؟ يَعْنِي مِنَ الشَّيْطَانِ ، يَعْنِي عَمَّاراً .

Allah (swt) gave Ammār refuge from Satan by the invocation of the Prophet ﷺ

It is reported in Sunan of Ibn Māja and al-Tirmaḍhī:

قَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ ﷺ «عَمَّارٌ، مَا عُرِضَ عَلَيْهِ أَمْرَانِ
إِلَّا اخْتَارَ الْأَرْشَدَ مِنْهُمَا

Rasūl Allah ﷺ said that when `Ammār is presented with two options, he takes the most correct one.

However, one of the most authentic and Mutawātir Ḥadīth in Ḥadīth literature is the one in which the Blessed Prophet ﷺ foretold that `Ammār will be killed by the rebels. In the following, a detailed study of this Ḥadīth is presented as `Ammār ibn Yāsir was martyred in the battle of Ṣiffīn and it proves that Imam Alī ibn Ṭālib was on ḥaqq and those fighting him were unjust rebels. In the last section of this article, a detailed survey of the judgements of the Imams of ahl al-Sunnah will be provided and explicated. Nevertheless, here is the study of the ḥadīth about Ammār will be killed by bāghīs.

The Ḥadīth is reported by a large number of muḥaddithūn. First we will cite the actual texts and their authentications from various sources and then provide a translation of the text:

Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī

٤٤٧ – حدثنا مُسدَّدٌ قال حدَّثنا عبدُ العزيزِ بنُ مُختارٍ قال حدَّثنا خالدٌ الحَذَّاءُ عن عِكرِمةَ قال لي ابنُ عبَّاسٍ ولابنِهِ عليٍّ: انطَلِقا إلى أبي سَعيدٍ (٥) فاسمَعا مِن حَديثِهِ. فانطَلَقنا، فإذا هوَ في حائطٍ يُصلِحه، فأخذ رِداءَهُ فاحتَبَى (٦)، ثمَّ أنشأَ يُحدِّثنا، حتّى أتى على ذِكرِ بِناءِ المَسجدِ فقال: «كُنّا نحمِلُ لبِنةً لبنةً وعَمّارٌ لَبِنَتَينِ لَبِنتين. فرآهُ النَّبيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم، فيَنفُضُ التُّراب عنهُ ويَقولُ وَيحَ عمّارٍ تَقتُلُهُ الفِئةُ الباغِيةُ يَدْعُوهُم إلى الجَنَّةِ ويَدْعونَهُ إلى النارِ. قال يقول عَمّارٌ: أعوذُ باللهِ مِنَ الفِتَنِ (٧)».

Musnad Aḥmed Ibn Ḥanbal

التُّـرابَ عنـه. ويقـول: «يا عَمَّـارُ، ألا تَحْمِـلُ لَبِنَةً كما يَحْمِلُ أَصْحـابُكَ» قال: إنِّي أُرِيدُ الأَجْرَ مِنَ الله. قال: فجعل يَنْفُضُ التُّراب عنه ويقول: «وَيْحَ عَمَّارٍ، تَقْتُلُهُ الفِئَةُ الباغِيَةُ، يَدْعُوهُمْ إلى الجَنَّةِ، ويَدْعُونَهُ إلى النَّارِ» قال: فَجَعَلَ عَمَّار يقول: أعوذ بالرحمٰن من الفِتَن(٣).

(٣) حديث صحيح.

Shu`ayb al-Arna'ūṭ says it is Ṣaḥīh Ḥadīth

Ṣaḥīh Ibn Ḥibbān

عن أبـي سعيـدٍ الخُدريِّ قـال: قـال رسـولُ الله ﷺ: «وَيْـحَ ابنِ سُمَيَّةَ، تَقْتُلُهُ الفِئَـةُ البَـاغِيـةُ، يَـدْعُـوهُمْ إلى الجَنَّـةِ، ويـدعـونـهُ إلى النَّارِ»(١).

al-Arna'ūṭ grades it is ṣaḥīḥ upon the conditions of al-Bukhari:

(١) إسناده صحيح على شرط البخاري

Ṣaḥīh al-Jāmi` al-ṣaghīr by al-Albānī with ṣaḥīh grading

٧١٢٩ - «ويحَ عمارٍ تقتلهُ الفئةُ الباغيةُ، يدعوهمْ إلى الجنة ، ويدعونه إلى النارِ».

(صحيح) (حم، خ) عن أبي سعيد الروض ٦٦٢، الصحيحة ٧١٠

All the above are the fuller version of the Ḥadīth which mean as follows:

٤٤٧ - حدَّثَنا مُسَدَّدٌ قالَ: حدَّثَنا عَبْدُ العَزِيزِ بنُ مُخْتارٍ قالَ: حدَّثَنا خالِدٌ الحَذَّاءُ، عَنْ عِكْرِمَةَ: قالَ لِي ابنُ عبَّاسٍ ولابْنِهِ عَلِيٍّ: انْطَلِقا إلى أبي سَعِيدٍ فاسْمَعا مِنْ حَدِيثِهِ، فانْطَلَقْنا فإذَا هُوَ في حائِطٍ يُصْلِحُهُ، فأَخَذَ رِداءَهُ فاحْتَبَى، ثُمَّ أَنْشَأَ يُحَدِّثُنا حتَّى أَتَى عَلَى ذِكْرِ بِناءِ المَسْجِدِ فَقالَ: كُنَّا نَحْمِلُ لَبِنَةً لَبِنَةً، وعَمَّارٌ لَبِنَتَيْنِ لَبِنَتَيْنِ، فَرآهُ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ فَيَنْفُضُ التُّرابَ عَنْهُ وَيَقُولُ: «وَيْحَ عَمَّارٍ، يَدْعُوهُمْ إلى الجَنَّةِ ويَدْعُونَهُ إلى النَّارِ». قالَ: يَقُولُ عَمَّارٌ: أَعُوذُ باللهِ مِنَ الفِتَنِ. [انظر: ٢٨١٢]

447. Narrated 'Ikrima: Ibn 'Abbās said to me and to his son 'Alī, "Go to Abū Sa'īd and listen to what he narrates." So, we went and found him in a garden looking after it. He picked up his *Ridā'*, wore it and sat down and started narrating till he came to the topic of the construction of the Prophet's mosque. He said, "We were carrying one adobe at a time while 'Ammār was carrying two. The Prophet ﷺ saw him and started removing the dust from his body and said, "May Allāh be Merciful to 'Ammār. He will be inviting them (i.e. his murderers, the rebellious group) to Paradise and they will invite him to Hell-fire." 'Ammār said, "I seek refuge with Allāh from *Al-Fitan* (trials and afflictions)".

In Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, for example, we have the condensed version of the Ḥadīth from three different chains of transmission to Umm al-Mu'minīn Umm Salama:

٧٣- (...) وحَدَّثَنَا أَبُو بَكْرِ بْنُ أَبِي شَيْبَةَ. حَدَّثَنَا إِسْمَاعِيلُ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ عَنِ ابْنِ عَوْنٍ، عَنِ الْحَسَنِ، عَنْ أُمِّهِ، عَنْ أُمِّ سَلَمَةَ قَالَتْ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ ﷺ: «تَقْتُلُ عَمَّارًا الْفِئَةُ الْبَاغِيَةُ».

Rasūl Allah ﷺsaid: Ammār will be killed by the rebels.

This is sufficient to demonstrate that Ammār ibn Yāsir will be killed by the rebels who will be unjust, wrong and inviting to hellfire. Now, we demonstrate from the explicit statements of the Ḥadīth masters that this ḥadīth is graded Mutawātir; which means it is certain and cannot be doubted.

Ibn Abd al-Barr al-Maliki in his al-Istī`āb comments:

وتواترت الآثار عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم أنه قال : تَقْتُل عمّار الفئة
الباغية . وهذا من إخباره بالغيب وأعلام نبوته صلى الله عليه وسلم ، وهو من
أصحّ الأحاديث .

There are massively transmitted reports from the Prophet ﷺ that Ammār will be killed by the rebels. This is from the news of the future and from the proofs of His ﷺ Prophethood and it is from most authentic aḥādīth.

al-Dhahabī in his Tārīkh al-Islam states:

ويروى هذا الحديث عن ابن عبّاس، وابن مسعود، وحُذيفة، وأبي
رافع، وابن أبي أوْفَى، وجابر بن سَمُرَة، وأبي اليسر السَّلَميُّ، وكعب بن
مالك، وأنَس، وجابر، وغيرهم، وهو متواتر عن النَّبيِّ ﷺ، قال أحمد بن
حنبل: في هذا غير حديث صحيح عن النَّبيِّ ﷺ، وقد قَتَلَتْهُ الفئةُ الباغية.

This ḥadīth has been reported from Ibn Abbās, Ibn Mas`ūd, Ḥudhayfah, Abū Rāfi`, Ibn Abī Awfā, Jābir ibn Samurah, Abū al-Yasr al-Sulamī, Ka`b ibn Mālik, Anas, Jābir and other Ṣahābah and it is mutawātir from the Prophet ﷺ...

al-Ṣafadī in his al-Wāfī bi'l-wafayāt says:

وتواترت الأخبارُ بأن رسول الله ﷺ، قال: تقتل عمّاراً الفئةُ الباغية. وهذا الحديثُ من أعلام النبّوة، وهو من إخباره بالغيب، ومن أصحّ الأحاديث.

This is reported by tawātur (massive transmission) that Rasūl Allah ﷺ said that `Ammār will be killed by rebels and this Ḥadīth is from the proofs of the Prophethood, from the news of the future and it is from most authentic aḥādīth.

al-Mizzī in his Tahdhīb al-Kamāl confirms:

وتواترت الروايات عن رسول الله ﷺ أنّه قال لعمار: «تَقتُلك الفئةُ الباغيةُ» رُوي ذلك عن عَمّار بن ياسر، وعثمان بن عَفّان، وعبدالله بن مسعود، وحُذيفة بن اليمان، وعبدالله بن عباس في آخرين.

It is massively reported from Rasūl Allah ﷺ that He said to Ammār: You will be killed by the rebels. It has been reported from Ammār Ibn Yāsir, Uthmān ibn Affān, Ibn Mas`ūd, Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān, Ibn Abbās and others...

Meaning of Bāghī in the Ḥadīth

The meaning is clear that al-fi'ah al-bāghīyah means the rebel party and it has a negative connotation. The word bāghī with its many variations has been used in the Qur'ān as unjust transgression. However, here as an example, it is quoted from Ibn al-'Athīr's famous work on the meanings of the words used in ḥadīth literature:

* وفى حديث عمّار « تقتله الفِئة البَاغِية » هى الظالمة الخارجة عن طاعة الإمام . وأصل البَغْى مجاوزةُ الحدّ .

In the ḥadīth of Ammār " He will be killed by rebels" it means the party that is unjust/ ẓālim who have rebelled from the obedience of the Imam. The basis of al-baghyī are transgression of limits.

Majd al-Dīn al-Fīrūzabādī in al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ explains:

وبَغَى عليه يَبْغِي بَغْياً علاَ، وظَلَمَ، وَعَدَلَ عن الحَقّ، واسْتَطَالَ، وكَذَبَ،

To rebel means to be arrogant, unjust, turn away from ḥaqq, transgression and untruth

Abū Ubayd al-Harawī in his classic al-Gharībayn fi'l-Qur'ān wa'l-ḥadīth says:

وقال اللحياني: أصل البَغْيُ: الحسدُ، ثم سُمِّيَ الظُّلم بَغْياً؛ لأن الحاسدَ ظالم .

The origin of al-baghyī is envy then zulm/injustice was given the name of baghya because an envious person is ẓālim.

al-Qāḍī al-`Iyāḍ al-Mālikī in his Mashāriq al-anwār explains:

وفى الزنا بغاء بالكسر ويقال أبغنى وابغنى أى أطلب لى قال الله تعالى يبغونكم الفتنة قال الخطابى وأكثر ما يأتى البغا فى طلب الشر قوله تقتله فئة باغية من البغى وهو الظلم وأصله الحسد والبغى أيضاً الفساد والاستطالة والكبر

He will be killed by a bāghī group: bāghīyah is from al-baghyī and it means injustice and its origin is envy. It is also used for viciousness, haughtiness and arrogance.

Therefore, it is obvious that in the light of the Mutawātir Ḥadīth from the Khātam al-Nabīyīn ﷺ those who fought Imam Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib at Ṣiffīn were unjust rebels. The killing of `Ammār ibn Yāsir at Ṣiffīn is agreed upon. All biographers of `Ammār agree upon it. For example, Ibn Ḥajr al-`Asqalānī in his al-Iṣābah confirms:

وتواترت الأحاديث عن النبي ﷺ أن عمارا تقتله الفئة الباغية، وأجمعوا

على أنه قُتِلَ مع عليّ بصفّين

The mutawātir aḥādīth from the Prophet ﷺ state that Ammār will be killed by the rebels and there is unanimous agreement of scholars that he was killed at Ṣiffīn fighting on the side of Alī

Furthermore, even Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān could not deny the Ḥadīth and tried to provide a farfetched interpretation to his troops.

Interpretation of Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān

It is authentically reported by a number of muḥaddithūn that`Ammār ibn Yāsir was killed by the troops led by Mu`āwīyah at Ṣiffīn and when Mu`āwīyah was informed about it, he said we did not kill him but Alī killed him because he brought him here to fight us. However, prior to a discussion on this, let us provide evidence from Ṣaḥīḥ reports of this distortion. It is reported by various Ḥadīth sources and authenticated by Ḥadīth scholars; after which a translation of the text will be provided.

Imam Aḥmed Ibn Ḥanbal at three places in his Musnad with varying chains and the researcher Shu`ayb al-Arna`ūṭ grades all as Ṣaḥīḥ:

١٧٧٧٨- حدثنا عبد الرزاق، قال: حدثنا معمر، عن ابن[1] طاووس، عن أبي بكر بن محمد بن عمرو بن حزم، عن أبيه، قال:

لمّا قُتِلَ عمّارُ بن ياسرٍ دَخَلَ عمرُو بن حَزْم على عَمْرو بن العاص، فقال: قُتِلَ عمّارٌ، وقد قال رسول الله ﷺ: «تَقْتُلُه الفِئَةُ الباغِيَةُ». فقام عمرُو بن العاص فَزِعاً يُرجِّعُ حتى دخل على معاويةَ، فقال له معاويةُ: ما شأنُكَ؟ قال: قُتِلَ عمارٌ. فقال معاويةُ: قد قُتِلَ عمارٌ، فماذا؟! قال عمرٌو: سمعتُ رسولَ الله ﷺ يقول: «تَقْتُلُه الفِئَةُ الباغِيَةُ». فقال له معاويةُ: دَحَضْتَ في بَوْلِك، أوَنحنُ قتلناهُ؟ إنّما قتَلَه عليٌّ وأصحابُه، جاؤُوا به حتى

أَلْقَوْهُ بينَ رِماحنا. أو قال: بين سُيوفِنا[1]

(١) إسناده صحيح. ابن طاووس: هو عبد الله.
والحديث في «مصنف» عبد الرزاق (٢٠٤٢٧)، ومن طريقه أخرجه أبو يعلى (٧١٧٥) و(٧٣٤٦)، والحاكم ٢/١٥٥-١٥٦، والبيهقي في «الدلائل» ٢/٥٥١.

Second report in Musnad of Aḥmed with decalaration of authenticity:

٦٤٩٩ - حدثنا أبو معاوية، حدثنا الأعمشُ، عن عبدالرحمٰن بن زياد

عن عبدالله بن الحارث، قال: إني لأسيرُ مع معاوية في مُنْصَرَفِه من صِفِّينَ، بينَه وبينَ عمرو بن العاص، قال: فقال عبدُالله بن عَمرو بن العاصي: يا أَبَتِ، ما سمعتَ رسول الله ﷺ يقولُ لعَمَّارٍ: «وَيْحَكَ يا ابنَ سُمَيَّةَ! تقتُلُكَ الفِئَةُ الباغِيةُ»؟ قال: فقال عمرو لمعاوية: ألا تَسمعُ ما يقولُ هٰذا؟ فقال معاوية: لا تَزالُ تأتينا بِهَنَةٍ! أَنَحْنُ قتلناه؟! إنما قتله الذين جاؤوا به[1].

(١) إسناده صحيح،

Third authentic report in Musnad of Aḥmed:

٦٩٢٦ - حدثنا الفضلُ بنُ دُكَيْنٍ، حدثنا سفيان، عن الأعمش، عن عبدِالرحمٰن بنِ أبي زياد، عن عبدالله بنِ الحارث، قال:

إنِّي لأُسَايِرُ عبدَالله بنَ عمرو بن العاصي ومعاوية، فقال عبدُالله بن عمرو لِعمرو: سمعتُ رسولَ الله ﷺ يقول: «تَقْتُلُهُ الفِئَةُ الباغِيَةُ» يعني عَمَّاراً، فقال عمرو لمعاوية: اسْمَعْ ما يقولُ هٰذا، فحَدَّثَه، فقال: أنحنُ قتلناه؟ إنما قَتَله مَنْ جاء به[1].

(١) إسناده صحيح

Abū Ya`lā in his Musnad with its researcher Hussain Salīm Asad grading it Ṣaḥīh:

٢ ـ (٧١٧٥) حدثنا إسحاق بن أبي إسرائيل وإبراهيم بن محمد بن عرعرة ـ ونسخته عن نسخة إبراهيم ـ قالا: حدثنا عبد الرزاق، أخبرنا معمر، عن ابن طاووس، عن أبي بكر بن محمد بن عمرو بن حزم، عن أبيه قال:

دَخَلَ عَمْرُو بْنُ حَزْمٍ عَلَىٰ عَمْرِو بْنِ الْعاص فَقَال: قُتِلَ عَمَّارٌ وَقَدْ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّه ـ ﷺ ـ: «**تَقْتُلُهُ الْفِئَةُ الْبَاغِيَةُ**». فَدَخَلَ

عَمْرٌو عَلَىٰ مُعَاوِيَةَ فَقَالَ: قُتِلَ عَمَّارٌ. قال معاوية: قُتِلَ عَمَّارٌ، فَمَاذَا؟ قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّه ـ ﷺ ـ يَقُولُ: «**تَقْتُلُهُ الْفِئَةُ الْبَاغِيَةُ**». قال: دَحَضْتَ(١) فِي بَوْلِكَ، أَوَ نَحْنُ قَتَلْنَاهُ؟ إِنَّمَا قَتَلَهُ عَلِيٌّ (٢) وَأَصْحَابُهُ (٣).

(٣) إسناده صحيح،

Second report in Musnad of Abū Ya`lā with a strong chain:

رَجَعْتُ مَعَ مُعَاوِيَةَ مِنْ صِفِّينَ، فَكَانَ مُعَاوِيَةُ، وَأَبُو ٱلْأَعْوَرِ السُّلَمِيّ يَسِيرُونَ مِنْ جَانِبٍ، وَرَأَيْتُهُ (١) يَسِيرُونَ مِنْ جَانِبٍ. فَكُنْتُ بَيْنَهُمْ لَيْسَ أَحَدٌ غَيْرِي، فَكُنْتُ أَحْيَاناً أُوضِعُ إِلَىٰ هٰؤُلَاءِ، وَأَحْيَاناً أُوضِعُ إِلَىٰ هٰؤُلَاءِ. فَسَمِعْتُ عَبْدَ اللَّهِ بْنَ عَمْرٍو يَقُولُ لِأَبِيهِ: أَبَهْ: أَمَا سَمِعْتَ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ـ ﷺ ـ يَقُولُ لِعَمَّارٍ حِينَ يَبْنِي (٢) الْمَسْجِدَ: «**إِنَّـكَ لَحَرِيصٌ عَلَىٰ ٱلْأَجْرِ**». قَالَ: أَجَلْ. قَالَ: «**وَإِنَّكَ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْجَنَّةِ، وَلَتَقْتُلُكَ الْفِئَةُ الْبَاغِيَةُ**؟» قَالَ: بَلَىٰ قَدْ سَمِعْتُهُ. قَالَ: فَلِمَ قَتَلْتُمُوهُ؟

قَالَ: فَالْتَفَتَ إِلَىٰ مُعَاوِيَةَ فَقَالَ: يَا أَبَا عَبْدِ الرَّحْمٰنِ، أَلَا تَسْمَعُ مَا يَقُولُ هٰذا؟ قَالَ: أَمَا سَمِعْتَ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ـ ﷺ ـ يَقُولُ لِعَمَّارٍ وَهُوَ يَبْنِي الْمَسْجِدَ: «**وَيْحَكَ، إِنَّكَ لَحَرِيصٌ عَلَىٰ ٱلْأَجْرِ، وَلَتَقْتُلُكَ الْفِئَةُ الْبَاغِيَـةُ**». قَالَ: بَلَىٰ قَـدْ سَمِعْتُهُ. قَـالَ: فَلِمَ قَتَلْتُمُوهُ؟

قَالَ: وَيْحَكَ، مَا تَزَالُ تَدْحَضُ فِي بَوْلِكَ. أَوَ نَحْنُ قَتَلْنَاهُ؟ إِنَّمَا قَتَلَهُ مَنْ جَاءَ بِهِ (٣).

(٣) إسناده جيد،

al-Dhahabī in his Tārikh al-Islam reports it and its researcher Dr. Bishār M`arūf grades it Ṣaḥīh. al-Dhahabī also reports it in his sīyar `ālām al-Nubalā and its researchers grade it Ṣaḥīh:

رسول الله، ﷺ: «تَقْتُلُه الفِئَةُ البَاغِيَةُ» فدخل عمرو على معاوية فقال: «قُتل عمّارٌ، فقال: قتل عمار فماذا؟ قال: سمعتُ رسول الله ﷺ يقول «تقتله الفِئَةُ الباغيَةُ». قال دحضت في بولك أَوَ نحنُ قتلناه؟ إنما قتله علي وأصحابه الذين أَلقوه بين رماحنا، أو قال: بين سيوفنا(١).

(١) إسناده صحيح،

al-Haythamī in his Majma` al-Zawā'id authenticates it from al-Ṭibrānī:

وفيه مسلم الملائى وهو ضعيف . وعن عبد الله بن الحرث ان عمرو بن العاصى قال
لمعاوية يا أمير المؤمنين أما سمعت رسول الله ﷺ يقول حين كان يبنى المسجد
لعمار انك حريص على الجهاد وانك لمن أهل الجنة ولتقتلنك الفئة الباغية قال بلى
قال فلم قتلتموه قال والله ماتزال تدحض فى بولك نحن قتلناه إنما قتله الذى جاء به .
رواه الطبرانى ورجاله ثقات . وعن حنى مولى عمرو قال كنت مع معاوية وعمرو

There are other prominent Ḥadīth Imams who have related this report authentically such as al-Nasā'ī, `abd al-Razāq, etc., but this much is sufficient to emphatically make the point about the text and its authenticity. The purpose of these authentic narrations, as vouched for by the experts, is that Ḥadīth of Ammār ibn Yāsir being killed by the rebels was known to the killers. Here is the translation:

> When `Ammār ibn Yāsir was killed by the troops of Mu`āwīyah, `Amr ibn al-`Āṣ told Mu`āwīyah that the Prophet ﷺ said that Ammār will be killed by the rebels. Mu`āwīyah replied: You have slipped in your own urine. We did not kill him but Alī killed him because he brought him in front of our spears and swords!

Prior to a response by Imam Alī of this absurd interpretation, here is what an Umayyad apologist Ibn Kathīr says in his al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah about this interpretation:

إنما قتله من أخرجه ، يخدع بذلك أهل الشام

By saying that he was killed by those who brought him, Mu`āwīyah was deceiving the Shāmīs

Ibn Kathīr further comments:

وهذا التأويل الذي سلكه معاوية رضي الله عنه بعيد

This interpretation by Mu`āwīyah (ra) is farfetched.

Then Ibn Kathīr decisively comments:

فقول معاوية : إنما قتله من قدَّمه إلى سيوفنا ، تأويلٌ بعيدٌ جداً ، إذ لو كان كذلك لكان أميرُ الجيش
هو القاتلُ للذين يُقتلون في سبيل الله ، حيث قدَّمهم إلى سُيوف الأعداء .

Mu`āwīyah's statement that he was killed by the one who brought him in front of our swords is an extremely far fetched interpretation and if that is the case then those who die as martyrs were killed by the General of their own army because he brings them to the swords of the enemy!

In the opinion of the salafist Wahābī favourite Ibn Kathīr, the explanation of Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān is extremely unrealistic and farfetched but may we ask, what is it farfetched from? The answer is that it is farfetched from Qur'ān, Sunnah and sound reasoning. If you do not agree then demonstrate for us how it is not? And this is a *Challenge!*

Even the Imam of latter day Nawāṣib Ibn Taymīyah al-Ḥarrānī in his Minhāj al-Sunnah considers such an interpretation as Marwānī:

وهذا القول لا أعلم له قائلا من أصحاب الأئمة الأربعة ونحوهم من
أهل السنة، ولكن هو قول كثير من المروانية[1] ومن وافقهم . ومن هؤلاء

I do not know anyone from the four schools and other ahl al-sunnah to have held such an interpretation but this is the position of many Mawānī's and their ilk.

Though, he is a staunch supporter of Umayyads and antagonistic towards Imam Alī as we have discussed elsewhere, yet he had to declare that those who present such an interpretation proffered by Mu`āwīyah as Marwānī and those who refute such an idea, he declares them ahl al-Sunnah.

Response of Imam Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib

When the explanation of the martyrdom of `Ammār ibn Yāsir by Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān reached Ḥaydar al-Karrār, he replied that if Ammār was killed by those who brought him then Amīr Ḥamzah and other Ṣaḥābah were killed by Rasūl Allah ﷺ because He ﷺ took them to the battles!

al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū al-Khaṭṭāb ibn Diḥyah al-Mālikī, Moḥammed ibn Aḥmed al-Qurṭubī al-Mālikī, Ibn al-`Imād al-Ḥanbalī, `Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Munāwī al-Shāfi`ī and others have mentioned the response of Imam Alī ibn Abī Ṭalib:

al-Qurṭubī al-Mālikī in his al-Tadhkirah states:

ولما لم يقدر معاوية على إنكاره لثبوته عنده قال: إنما قتله من أخرجه، ولو كان حديث فيه شك لرده(٨) معاوية وأنكره، وأكذب ناقله وزوّره، وقد أجاب علي رضي الله عنه عن قول معاوية بأن قال: فرسول الله ﷺ إذاً قتل حمزة حين أخرجه، وهذا من علي رضي الله عنه [إلزام لا جواب عنه، وحجة لا اعتراض](٩) عليها

قاله الإمام الحافظ أبو الخطاب

Due to the indubitability of the ḥadīth, Mu`āwīyah could not reject it hence he said that he was killed by the one who brought him to be killed. Ali (raḍī Allah anhu) refuted the interpretation of Mu`āwīyah that if that is the case then Rasūl Allah ﷺ would be considered as the killer of Ḥamzah because He ﷺ took him to the battle of Uḥud. This refutation by Ali (ra) is such a counter argument that has no reply and it is such a strong response that cannot be refuted as al-Imām al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū al-Khaṭṭāb al-Mālikī has said.

Ibn al-`Imād al-Ḥanbalī in his Shadhrāt al-Dhahab says:

ثلاثين ألفاً، وأهلُ الشام مائةَ ألف وخمسةٌ وثلاثين ألفاً، وكان في جانب عليٍّ جماعة من البدريِّين وأهلِ بيعة الرِّضْوان، وراياتِ رسول الله ﷺ، والإجماع منعقد على إمامته وبغي[٢] الطائفة الأخرى، ولا يجوز تكفيرُهم كسائر البُغاة، واستدل أهل السُّنَّةِ والجماعة على ترجيح جانب عليٍّ بدلائل، أظهرُها وأثبتُها قوله ﷺ لعمار بن ياسر: «تَقْتُلُكَ الفِئَةُ البَاغِيَةُ» وهو حديث ثابت[٣]. ولما بلغ معاويةَ ذلك قال: إنما قتله من أخرجه، فقال عليٌّ: إذاً قَتَلَ رسولُ الله ﷺ حمزةَ لأنه أخرجه، وهو إلزام لا جواب عنه، وحجةٌ لا اعتراض عليها، وكان

On the side Alī, there were Badrī Ṣaḥābah and Ṣaḥābah of bayat al-Riḍwān and they had the flags of Rasūl Allah ﷺ and the ijmā` had been established upon the Imāmah of Alī and the rebels were the other group. It is not persmissble to declare them kāfirs like other rebels. Ahl al-Sunnah wa'l-Jamā`ah have proven with evidences the preference for the side of Alī. Of the most obvious and strong proof is the saying of the Prophet ﷺ for Ammār ibn Yāsir: You will be killed by the rebels and this is a solidly established ḥadīth even when it reached Mu`āwīyah, he said that Ammār was killed by those who brought him and Alī replied: In that case Ḥamzah was killed by Rasūl Allah ﷺ because He ﷺ brought him to the battle and this is such a sound counter argument that it has no reply and such a proof which has no refutation.

Furthermore, the Salafist Wahābī favourite and closest student of Ibn Taymīyah, Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawzīyah explicitly states in his al-Ṣawā`iq al-Mursalā on the issue:

يحتجون به، [وهؤلاء يحتجون به](٦)، نعم التأويل الباطل تأويل أهل الشام قوله «صلى الله عليه وسلم» لعمّار: «تقتلك

الفئة الباغية»(١) فقالوا: نحن لم نقتله، إنما قتله من جاء به حتى أوقعه بين رماحنا. فهذا هو التأويل الباطل المخالف لحقيقة اللفظ وظاهره، فإن الذي قتله هو الذي باشر قتله لا من استنصر به. ولهذا رد عليهم من هو أولى بالحق والحقيقة منهم فقالوا: فيكون رسول الله «صلى الله عليه وسلم» وأصحابه هم الذين قتلوا حمزة والشهداء معه، لأنهم أتوا بهم حتى أوقعوهم تحت سيوف المشركين.

Indeed, the interpretation of the Shāmīs is falsehood. The Prophet ﷺ said that Ammār will be killed by the rebels and the Shāmīs said we did not kill him but those who brought him to our spears killed him. This is a bāṭil interpretation, contrary to the explicit unequivocal words of the text. Indeed, the killers of Ammār were those who killed him and not those whom he was fighting for. This is the refutation of those who were on ḥaqq, when they replied: In that case the Messnger of Allah ﷺ and His companions were the killers of Ḥamzah and other martyrs with him because they brought them to the swords of the Mushrikūn!

Therefore, it is manifestly clear that the interpretation of Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān leads to absurd consequences for those martyred during the times of the Noble Prophet ﷺ and al-Khulāfah al-Rāshidūn and it is contrary to Qur'ān, Sunnah and sound reasoning. Some ardent supporters of the Umayyad dynasty have attempted to defend unrealistic interpretation of the martyrdom of Ammār ibn Yāsir. For example, al-Muhallab al-Andalusī said that in the Ḥadīth, it says that Ammār will call them to paradise and they will call him to hellfire; this means that he was sent to the Khawārij to call them to Islam. Badr al-Dīn al-Aynī al-Ḥanafī in Umdah al-Qārī and others have refuted such preposterous claims:

قلت: تبع ابن بطال في ذلك

المهلب، وتابعه على ذلك جماعة في هذا الجواب، ولكن لا يصح هذا، لأن الخوارج إنما خرجوا على علي رضي الله تعالى عنه، بعد قتل عمار بلا خلاف بين أهل العلم بذلك، لأن ابتداء أمرهم كان عقيب التحكيم بين علي ومعاوية، ولم يكن التحيكم إلاَّ بعد انتهاء القتال

بصفين، وكان قتل عمار قبل ذلك قطعاً،

> I say that Ibn Baṭṭāl followed al-Muhallab in this opinion and then a group followed Ibn Baṭṭāl in this notion but this is incorrect because Khawārij did Khurūj upon Alī (raḍī Allah anhu) after the killing of Ammār and there is no difference of opinion amonsgt the people of knowledge on this point. The issue of Khawārij occurred after the arbitration between Alī and Mu`āwīyah and the arbitration happened after the battle of Ṣiffīn and Ammār had definitely been killed prior to that.

Though after this passage al-`Aynī suggests that the mistake of Mu`āwīyah was based on ijtihād but later towards the end of the book in kitāb al-fitan, he changes this opinion. We will quote that passage when the judgements of ahl al-Sunnah scholars are discussed in the last section. However, the point here is that extreme apologists would even twist the most obvious to aid their troops at Ṣiffin. Furthermore, this strange far fecthed thesis has also been refuted by Ibn Ḥajr al-`Asqalānī in his Fatḥ al-Bāri with a similar refutation and then he says:

فكيف يبعثه إليهم علي بعد موته .

How is it possible that Alī sent Ammār to Khawārij after his death?

The prespostrous suggestion by al-Muhallab is refuted with the unanimous agreement that Ammār ibn Yāsir was killed prior to the fitna of khawārij hence it was *impossible* for him to be sent to them. The point here is that it has been authentically demonstrated that `Ammār will be killed by the Rebels and that He was killed at Ṣiffīn and that Mu`āwīyah knew about the Ḥadīth and said that He was killed by those who brought him. All these are established facts as confirmed in the preceding discussion on textual evidences.

`Ammār's call to Paradise

As you have seen from Ṣaḥīḥ Aḥādīth, from various prominent muḥaddithūn that Rasūl Allah ﷺ said that `Ammār will call the rebels to paradise and they will call him to hell fire. By virtue of being on the side of ḥaqq meant his call was to paradise. There are also lengthy exhortations in the books of history where `Ammār ibn Yāsir at Ṣiffīn delivers speeches and tells the Shāmīs that they are upon falsehood. Imagine a ninety three old man with trembling hands urging others to join the ḥaqq. His was the first head in Islamic history to be cut and paraded in the court of the ruler and we indeed know about the other heads of ahl al-Bayt at Karbalā. However, there are lengthy admonitions in the books of history but here is an of example of `Ammār's call from authentic Ḥadīth. al-Haythamī, the teacher of al-`Asqalānī, in his Majma` al-Zawā'id authenticates from Musnad of Aḥmed and al-Ṭibrānī:

١٢٠٥٦ —وعن عبد الله بن سلمة، قال: رَأَيْتُ عَمَّارًا يَوْمَ صِفِّينَ شَيْخًا كَبِيرًا آدَمَ طُوَالاً، آخِذًا الْحَرْبَةَ بِيَدِهِ، وَيَدُهُ تَرْعَدُ، فَقَالَ: وَالَّذِى نَفْسِي بِيَدِهِ، لَقَدْ قَاتَلْتُ بِهَذِهِ الرَّايَةِ

مَعَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ ثَلاَثَ مَرَّاتٍ، وَهَذِهِ الرَّابِعَةُ، وَالَّذِى نَفْسِي بِيَدِهِ لَوْ ضَرَبُونَا حَتَّى يَبْلُغُوا بِنَا سَعَفَاتِ هَجَرَ، لَعَرَفْتُ أَنَّ مُصْلِحِينَا عَلَى الْحَقِّ، وَأَنَّهُمْ عَلَى الضَّلاَلَةِ(١).

رواه أحمد والطبراني، ورجال أحمد رجال الصحيح غير عبد الله بن سلمة، وهو ثقة، إلا أن الطبراني قال: لقد قاتلت صاحب هذه مع رسول الله ﷺ ثلاث مرات، وهذه الرابعة.

The same Ḥadīth is also reported by Ibn Ḥibbān in his Ṣaḥīh and here it is cited from Musnad of Abū Ya`lā and graded authentic by its researcher Hussain Salīm Asad and also by al-Ḥafiẓ al-Asqalānī in his Fatḥ al-Bārī:

رَأَيْتُ عَمَّارَ بن ياسر يَوْمَ الصِّفين شَيْخاً(١)، طِوَالاً(٢)، آدَمَ، آخِذاً(٣) الْحَرْبَةَ بِيَدِهِ، وَيَدُهُ تُرْعِدُ فَقالَ: «وَالذي نَفْسي بِيَدِهِ لَقَدْ قاتَلْتُ بِهذِهِ الرَّايَةِ مَعَ رَسولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ ثَلاثَ مَرَّاتٍ، وَهذه الرابِعَةُ. وَالَّذي نَفْسي بِيَدِهِ لَوْ ضَرَبونا حَتَّىٰ بَلَغوا بِنا شَعْفاتِ هَجَر لَعَرَفْنا أَنَّ مُصْلحينا عَلىٰ الحقِّ، وَإِنَّهُمْ عَلىٰ الضَّلالَةِ»(٤).

(٤) إسناده حسن، عبد الله بن سلمة حسن الحافظ حديثه في الفتح ١/٤٠٨ وهو عندنا حسن الحديث، وقد فصلنا فيه القول عند الحديث (٦٧٧).

On the day of Ṣiffīn, Ammār ibn Yāsir, an old, tall and pale man with a lance in his trembling hand said: By God! in whose hand is my life, three times I fought under this banner of Rasūl Allah ﷺ and this is my fourth time. By God! in whose hand is my life, if these people attack us and hang our dead bodies on the branches of date trees, even then, I believe that we are upon ḥaqq and they are upon misguidance *ḍalālah!*

Furthermore, `Ammār ibn Yāsir at Ṣiffīn was a symbol of Ḥaqq and salvation for the Ṣaḥābah of Rasūl Allah ﷺ. It is authentically reported in al-Istī`āb of Ibn `Abd al-Barr, Talkhīs of al-Mustadrak by al-Dhahabī, Majma` al-Zawā'id of al-Haythamī, Usud al-Ghābah of Ibn al-'Athīr al-Jazarī and others. Here the relevant point is cited from Abū 'l-Abbās al-Qurṭubī al-Mālikī's al-Mufhim commentry on Ṣaḥīh Muslim:

شهدنا مع عليٍّ صِفّينَ، فرأيتُ عمّارَ بن ياسر لا يأخذُ في ناحية من أودية صِفّين إلا

رأيتُ أصحاب محمّد يتبعونه كأنه عَلَمٌ لهم،

Abū `Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī said: We participated in Ṣiffīn with Alī and witnessed that where ever Ammār ibn Yāsir went at Ṣiffīn, the Ṣaḥābah of Moḥammed ﷺ followed him as if he was the symbol of truth for them.

al-Nawāwī in his Tahdhīb al-'Asmā' wa'l-lughāt further confirms:

شربة تشربها من الدنيا شربة لبن. وثبت في الصحيحين ان رسول الله ﷺ قال
ويح عمار تقتله الفئة الباغية · وكانت الصحابة يوم صفين يتبعونه حيث توجه لعلمهم
بانه مع الفئة العادلة لهذا الحديث · قالوا وكان عمار اول من بنى مسجدا لله تعالى

It is proven in Bukhārī and Muslim that Rasūl Allah ﷺ said May Allah have mercy upon `Ammār he will be killed by the rebels and the ṣaḥābah on the day of Ṣiffīn followed him wherever he went because they knew they were with the party on truth.

Ibn al-`Imād al-Ḥanbalī in his Shadhrāt al-Dhahab says:

وممن قتل مع علي عمار بن ياسر ميزان العدل في تلك الحروب

Amonsgt those who were killed on the side of Alī at Ṣiffīn included `Ammār ibn Yāsir; who was the standard of justice in these battles.

It is evident that `Ammār was the symbol of Ḥaqq as foretold by the Prophet ﷺ and the Ṣahābah understood and recognised that and followed him in his call to paradise. Though, there is a considerable other authentic material about various aspects of Ṣiffīn, in conclusion to this section, here is what Umm al-Mu'minīn Maymūna bint al-Ḥārith said echoing the call of `Āmmār. It is declared Ṣaḥīh upon the conditions of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, not only by al-Ḥākim in his al-Mustadrak but by the centre right Muḥaddith and Ibn Taymīyah loyalist, al-Dhahabī in his Talkhīs of al-Mustadrak:

٤٦٨٠/ ٢٧٨ ـ حدثنا أبو بكر بن إسحاق، أنبأ محمد بن عيسى بن السكن، ثنا الحارث بن منصور، ثنا إسرائيل، عن أبي إسحاق، عن جري بن كليب العامري قال: لما سار علي إلى صفين كرهت القتال فأتيت المدينة فدخلت على ميمونة بنت الحارث فقالت: ممن أنت؟ قلت من أهل الكوفة قالت من أيهم؟ قلت: من بني عامر قالت: رحباً على رحب وقرباً على قرب تجيء ما جاء بك قال: قلت سار علي إلى صفين وكرهت القتال فجئنا إلى ها هنا قالت أكنت بايعته؟ قال: قلت: نعم قالت فارجع إليه فكن معه فوالله ما ضل ولا ضل به.

هذا حديث صحيح على شرط الشيخين ولم يخرجاه.

٤٦٨٠ ـ قال في التلخيص: على شرط البخاري ومسلم.

Ibn Kulayb al-`Āmirī says that when `Alī travelled to Ṣiffīn, I went to Medina to see Maymūna bint al-Ḥārith and she enquired about the purpose of my visit. I said: `Alī has gone to Ṣiffīn and I detest fighting so I came here. She said: have you given allegiance to him. I said: Yes. She said: return to him and fight with him, by God! He is neither Misguided nor does He Misguide others!

Ḥistoriography of Ṣiffīn and Badrī Ṣaḥābah

At Ṣiffīn, the only two active participants among the Ṣahābah in the battle from the side of Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān were himself and `Amr ibn al-`Āṣ and both were from *Ṭulaqā* category of converts.[3] Abdullah the son of `Amr ibn al-`Āṣ, according to Ṣaḥīh reports, did not take part in the battle and abstained from picking up any weapons. He told them to their faces after Āmmār's martyrdom that they were the group on falsehood. However, on the side of Imam Alī there were Ṣahābah from Muhājirūn and Anṣār, the Ṣaḥābah of bayah of al-Ridwān and prominently, the Badrī Ṣahābah. The particular details about the battle, naturally, are found in the principle books of Islamic history.

The historiographical accounts based on earlier monographs and sources were incorporated in the famous annalistic history books available to us, authored by Sunni historians and writers. For example, al-Ṭabarī, al-Balādhurī, Ibn S`ad, al-Dīnawarī-to name but a few. Even if we did not have the historical narrative, the overwhelming and Mutawātir Ḥadīth evidence furnishes a definite basis for the value judgement that Imam Alī was on Ḥaqq and those who fought him were unjust bāghīs. The Nawāṣib in the tradition of Ibn Taymīyah, in particular, try to shift the goal post and advance an argument from the participants in the battles. They suggest with reference to spurious or misdirected quotes that Ṣahābah abstained from the battles, hence, attempting to create doubt and rescue their elders from the unjust rebellion at Ṣiffīn. Yet, at the sametime specific works of history written only on Ṣiffīn are ruthlessly discredited by labelling the earliest historians of those monographs as Shī`ah. Prior to a detailed positive justification of the Badrī participants, in particular, with Imam Alī from sources that cannot be labelled Shī`ah. let us, first, examine the Nāṣibī argument. Here is what Ibn Taymīyah states in his Minhāj al-Sunnah:

قال عبـدالله بن [الإمـام] أحمد[٤]، حدثنا أبى، حدثنا إسماعيل،
يعنى ابن عليّة، حدثنا أيوب [يعنى] السختيانى[*]، عن محمد بن سيرين
قال: هاجت الفتنـة وأصحاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم عشرة
آلاف، فما حضرها[٦] منهم مائة، بل لم يبلغوا[٧] ثلاثين. وهذا الإسناد

من أصح إسناد[١] على وجه الأرض. ومحمد بن سيرين [من][٢] أورع الناس
فى منطقه، ومراسيله من أصح المراسيل.

Ibn Sīrīn said that when the fitna stirred up, the companions of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ were in thousands and only a hundred but rather around thirty assisted in it.

- Ibn Taymīyah says: this is from the best of chains of transmission on Earth! And Mohammed Ibn Sīrīn is among the most cautious in speech and his mursal report is among the authentic interrupted reports.

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3 Details in the next section

It is argued from the above that Ibn Sīrīn said that there were around thirty Ṣaḥābah in the battle of Ṣiffīn. However, there is *no* mention of Ṣiffīn in the text of the words attributed to Ibn Sīrīn. How do we know he was talking about Ṣiffīn? Those who came later tried to *interpret* it as Ṣiffīn. If we were to be puritanical, the Battle of Siffīn took place in 37AH and Ibn Sīrīn was born in 33AH, therefore, he was neither a participant nor a witness to the battle. Given that the text is vague and he only comments about a *fitna* then one can argue that what he meant by the fitna was unrest and the killing of `Uthmān ibn `Affān. Consider the following reported by Ibn`Asākir in his Tārīkh Dimashq, Ibn `abd Rabihī in al-`Iqd al-Farīd, al-Suyuṭī in his Tārīkh al-Khulafah and here it is quoted from al-Akhbār al-Muwaffiqīyāt by al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār:

● ٧٧ ـ حدّثنا أحمد بن سعيد الدمشقي قال: حدّثني الزبير قال: حدّثني محمدٌ بن سَلاّم الجمحي، عن عبد الرحمٰن الهمداني، قال(٦):

دخل أبو الطُّفيل عامر بن واثلة الكناني(٧) على معاويةَ، فقال له معاوية: أبو

الطفيل. قال: نعم. قال: ألستَ من قَتَلةِ عثمان؟ قال: لا، ولكني ممّن حضرهُ فلم ينصرْه. قال: وما منعك من نَصره؟ قال: لم ينصرْه المهاجرون والأنصارُ.

قال معاويةُ: أما لقد كان حقّه واجباً، وكان عليهم أنْ ينصروه. قال: فما منعك يا أميرَ المؤمنين من نصره، ومعك أهلُ الشام؟ فقال معاويةُ: أما طلبي بدمِه نصرةٌ له؟ فضحك الطفيل وقال: أنت وعثمان كما قال الشاعر(١):

لا ألفينَّـك بعـد المـوتِ تنـدبنـي   وفـي حيـاتـيَ مـا زوّدتنـي زادي

The companion Abū al-Ṭufayl `Āmir ibn Wāthilah came to Mu`āwīyah and Mu`āwīyah said: are you not from the slayers of Uthmān? He replied: No but I am from those who were present but did not assist him. He said: what hindered you from helping him? He replied: the Muhājirūn and Ansār did not aid him. Mu`āwīyah said: it was imperative upon them to assist him. Abū al-Ṭufayl said: Amīr al-mu'minīn what hindered you from assisting him whilst you had the support of the people of al-shām? Mu`āwīyah replied: but my seeking of vengence for his blood is helping him. Abū al-Ṭufayl laughed and then exclaimed: your attitude towards Uthmān is as the poet says: I will find you weeping for me after my death but during my life you did not give what was necessary for you!

The siege of Uthmān al-Ghanī lasted for over fifty days and Imam Alī had his sons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn guard the gates of Uthmān al-Ghanī's house. However, Ibn Sīrīn's statement about lack of participation of ṣaḥābah in the fitna could be a reference to this. As will be discussed later, even the best of all the ṣaḥabah, the majority of Badrī companions were with Imam Alī at Ṣiffīn and there were none on the side of mu`āwīyah ibn abī sufyān.

Furthermore, If one was to insist upon the vague statement of Ibn Sīrīn then consider his other unequivocal opinions. Here it is quoted from al-Muṣannaf of Ibn Abī Shaybah with an authentic chain of transmitters as vouched for by its researcher Mohammed `Awwāmah:

٣٨٨٠٥ ـ حدثنا أبو أسامة، عن عوف، عن محمد قال: يكون في هذه الأمة خليفة لا يُفضَّل عليه أبو بكر ولا عمر.

٣٨٨٠٥ ـ رجاله ثقات.

> Moḥammed ibn Sīrīn said: There will be a khalīfah in this Ummah who will be superior to Abū Bakr and `Umar

The text from Ibn Sīrīn is authentically reported and in the words of Ibn Tamīyah "this is from the best of chains of transmission on Earth...and his mursal report is among the authentic interrupted reports." Ibn Sirīn believed that there will be a Caliph in this Ummah over whom we cannot even give preference to Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq nor Umar al-Fārūq. Indeed, the same people will now attempt to interpret this unambiguous statement, authentically reported by suggesting the reasoning for this tafḍil. Fitna in his other statement is also interpreted by us in a similar spirit.

Nu`aym ibn Ḥammād, one of the teachers of al-Bukhārī, in his famous book al-Fitan provides another opinion of Ibn Sīrīn:

٣٠٧ ـ **حدثنا** محمد بنُ مُنيب، عن السَّري بنِ يحيى، عن عبد الكريم بن رشيد.

عن محمد بن سيرين قال: والله! إنّي لأراهُ كان يتصنَّعُ لها ـ يعني: معاويةَ ـ على عهدِ أبي بكرٍ، وعُمر رضى الله عَنهما. يعني: للخلافةِ.

> Moḥammed Ibn Sīrīn said: By God! I see that, Mu`āwīyah in his mannerisms was vying for Caliphate even during the times of Abū Bakr and Umar (raḍi Allah anhuma).

So here you have Ibn Sīrīn suggest that Mu`wīyah's quest for power was evident even in the times of al-Ṣiddīq and al-Fārūq. And this statement of Ibn Sīrīn is further corroborated by the first hand observation of a Ṣaḥābī and the brother of Uthmān al-Ghanī from raḍā`a; `Abdullah ibn Sa`d as assented by al-Dhahabī in his sīyar ā`lam al-nubalā, Ibn `Asākir in his Tārīkh and here it is cited from al-Fasawī's al-M`arifah wa'l-Tārikh:

حدثني حرملة قال: اخبرنا ابن وهب عن «ابن لهيعة عن يزيد بن ابي حبيب قال: أقام عبدالله بن سعد بعسقلان بعد قتل عثمان، وكره أن يكون مع معاوية، وقال: لم أكن لأجامع رجلاً قد عرفته إنه كان يهوى قتل عثمان، فكان بها حتى مات.»[٤]

> After the murder of Uthmān, Abdullah ibn Sa`d moved to `Asqalān and disliked to be with Mu`āwīyah and said: I will not be with Mu`āwīyah about whom I know that he wanted Uthmān to be killed..

The point here is that the argument of participation of Ṣaḥābah from Ibn Sīrin's statement is textually vague in the first place to apply it to Ṣiffīn and secondly, he was not a witness to the actual events by being a four year old and to negate something requires a greater degree of authenticity and thirdly, if one disregards being an actual witness then he may well have been commenting on the fitna that occurred during the Caliphate of Uthmān al-Ghanī and this is supported from the lack of participation of Ṣaḥābah. And if one is adamant in their unjustified application of the term fitna to Ṣiffīn alone then what about the other opinions of Ibn Sīrīn about tafḍīl and Mu`āwīyah's quest for power long before the Caliphate of Imam Alī?

Furthermore, Ibn Taymīyah in his campaign cites another reference with a chain to al-Sha`abī:

وقال عبدالله، حدثنا أبي(*)، حدثنا إسماعيل حدثنا منصور بن
عبدالرحمن قال: قال الشعبي: لم يشهد الجمل من أصحاب رسول الله
صلى الله عليه وسلم غير عليّ وعمّار وطلحة والزبير، فإن جاءوا بخامس
فأنا كذّاب.

al-Sha`abī said about the battle of Jamal that none of the Ṣaḥābah took part in the the battle except Alī, Ammār, Talḥā and al-Zubayr and if there is a fifth ṣaḥābī **then I am liar!**

This seems to be falsely attributed to al-Sha`abī otherwise he would be proven a liar in his own words. If one was to be subjective, it could be said that al-Sha`abī was close to the Marwanids during his life and this statement is perhaps due to that ambassadorial role he enjoyed under the aegis of `abd al-Malik ibn Marwān; who was anti-Alī and al-Zubayr. His praise for `abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, for example, can be cited. In Tahdhīb Tahdhīb al-Kamāl, al-Dhahabī states the praise:

وقال إسماعيل بن أبي خالد ، عن الشعبي قال : ما جالست أحدًا إلا وجدت
لي الفضل عليه إلا عبد الملك بن مروان ، فإني ما ذاكرته حديثًا إلا زادني فيه ،
ولا شعرًا إلا زادني فيه .

al-Sha`abī said: I never associated with anyone but I found myself to be superior over them except for `abd al-Malik ibn Marwān. When I related a Ḥadīth to him but he added to it and never a verse of poetry, he capped me in on it.

However, Ibn Taymīyah's student al-Dhahabī falsifies the claim of al-Sha`abī in his Tārīkh al-Islam:

وكان الشّعبيّ يبالغ ويقول : لم يشهدها إلاّ علي ، وعمار ، وطلحة
والزُّبَيْر من الصحابة .

al-Sha`abī *exagerated* when he said that there were only Alī, `Ammār, Ṭalḥa and al- Zubayr from ṣahābah at Jamal.

Even al-Dhahabī[4] rejects the claim of al-Sha`abi *in mild words* and he also deliberately *omits* the text **'then I will be a liar'** stated by al-Sha`abī. However, one of the ealiest books of history by the teacher of al-Bukharī, Tārīkh of Khalīfah ibn Khayyaṭ relates from an authentic chain from Sa`īd ibn Jubayr; who was brutally killed by the Marwanid governor Ḥajjaj ibn Yūsuf, that there were eight hundred Ṣaḥābah from Ansār and four hundred from bayat al-Riḍwān with Imam Alī at Jamal:

[4] His student Imam Taj al-Dīn al-Subki in his al-Ṭabaqāt has accused Al-Dhahabī of bias. Imam al-Kawthari al-Ḥanafī accuses al-Dhahabī of bias towards weakening of the excellences of ahl al-bayt in his commentary on al-Sayf al-Ṣaqīl of Imam Taqi al-Dīn al-Subkī.

قال : ونا أبو غسان : قال نا يعقوب القمي عن جعفر بن أبي المغيرة عن سعيد بن جبير
قال : كان مع علي يوم الجمل ثمان مائة من الأنصار وأربع مائة ممن شهد بيعة الرضوان .

Sa`īd ibn Jubayr said: at Jamal there were eight hundred Ṣaḥābah from Ansār and four hundred from bayah of Riḍwān.

al-Dhababī confirms the reports contrary to the supposed claim of al-Sha`abī. In his Tārikh al-Islam he provides the basis upon which he rejected the claim of al-Sha`abī:

وقال سعيد بن جُبَيْر : كان مع عليّ يوم وقْعة الجَمَل ثمانمائة من الأنصار ، وأربعمائة(4) ممّن شهد بَيْعَةَ الرِّضْوان .

رواه جعفر بن أبي المُغيرة عن سعيد .

وقال المطّلب بن زياد ، عن السُّدِّيّ : شهِدَ مع عليّ يوم الجمل مائةٌ وثلاثون بدْرياً وسبعمائة من أصحاب النّبيّ ﷺ ، وقُتِلَ بينهما ثلاثون ألفاً ، لم تكن مقتلة اعظم منها .

Sa`īd Ibn Jubayr said: with Alī at the battle of Jamal there were eight hundred Ansārī ṣaḥābah and four hundred from those who did bayah of Ridwān.

Muṭṭalib ibn Zīyād relates from al-Sudaī: at the battle of Jamal there were one hundred and thirty Badrī ṣaḥābah and seven hundred other ṣaḥābah...

So here you have it from two separate indepedent reliable sources stating contrary to the claims of Ibn Taymīyah. The point to be noted is that there was only a small number of Badrī Saḥābah remaining. Their total was 313 and fourteen were martyred at Badr, seventy were martyred at Uḥud in 3 AH and Jamal was in 36 AH and naturally many had passed away and only a small number had survived and except for a few, all were at the battle of Jamal with Imam Alī and those who lived were again at Ṣiffīn with Ḥayder al-Karrār. The Badrī ṣahābah were by far the best of all the companions, guaranteed paradise and were the earliest Muslims.

Furthermore, Ibn Taymīyah cites two more quotes on the issue but in this section, one will be discussed and the other will be analysed in the next section:

وقد روى ابن بطّة عن بكير بن الأشج قال: أما إن رجالا من أهل بدر لزموا بيوتهم بعد قتل عثمان، فلم يخرجوا إلا إلى قبورهم .

Ibn Baṭṭah has reported from Bukayr ibn al-'Ashaj that indeed the men of Badr remained in their houses after the murder of Uthmān and did not get out of their houses except to their graves.

It is obvious that this *categoric* statement attributed to Bukayr is erroneous because even Ibn Taymīyah has accepted that Alī, Ammār, Ṭalḥā and al-Zubayr, at odds, were all Badrī Ṣaḥābah. Nonetheless, it is evident that the Naṣibī argument from participation of Ṣaḥābah and in particular the Badrī ṣaḥābah is inadmissible for a justification of their exagerated claims.

Participation of Badrī Ṣaḥābah at Ṣiffin

The Badrī Ṣaḥābah are the earliest and the most excellent category of Ṣaḥābah; a fact that is unanimous amongst Muslims. Their total number is three-hundred-and-thirteen, and fourteen were martyred at Badr and seventy were martyred at Uḥud in 3 AH. In the course of time and many campaigns later until the martyrdom of Uthman al-Ghanī, 33 years later, their numbers had significantly dwindled. Their importance in the affairs of the state and Muslims can be gauged from the following detail at the time of Imam Alī's election as Khalīfah Rāshid. Among others, here it is from Ibn al-'Athīr al-Jazarī's biography of Ṣaḥābah, Usud al-Ghābah:

عن الزهري، عن ابن المسيب قال: لما قتل عثمان جاء الناس كلهم إلى علي يُهْرَعون، أصحاب محمد وغيرهم، كلهم يقول: «أمير المؤمنين علي»، حتى دخلوا عليه داره، فقالوا: نبايعك فَمُدَّ يدك، فأنت أحق بها. فقال علي: ليس ذاك إليكم، وإنما ذاك إلى أهل بدر، فمن رضي به أهل بدر فهو خليفة. فلم يبق أحد إلا أتى علياً، فقالوا: ما نرى أحداً أحق بها منك، فمد يدك نبايعك. فقال: أين طلحة والزبير؟ فكان أوّل من بايعه طلحة بلسانه، وسعد بيده، فلما رأى عليّ ذلك خرج إلى المسجد، فصعد المنبر، فكان أوّل من صعد إليه، فبايعه طلحة، وبايعه الزبير، وأصحاب النبي ﷺ ورضي عنهم أجمعين.

After the murder of Uthmān, people came in haste to Alī, both ṣaḥābah and others, all said: Amīr al-Mu'minīn Alī until they entered his house and they said: We give allegiance to you, give us your hand you are the most deserving. Alī said: It is not up to you, it is upon the ṣaḥābah of Badr, whoever they agree to, that person would become the Khalīfah, thus none of the Badrī Ṣaḥābah remained behind and said we do not think anyone is more deserving than you....

The idea here is that Badrī ṣahābah due to their seniority and hardships in early Islam have a significant status. Ibn Kathīr in al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah relates without criticism of the narration, a dialogue that occurred between some Iraqī tribes and Imam Alī at Ṣiffīn. This group of people went back and forth to seek explanation from both sides to ascertain their point of view. Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān even accuses Imam Alī of killing Uthmān al-Ghanī and claiming other untruths. This was, perhaps, for political maneuvering to obtain their support otherwise none in those times to this day from ahl al-Sunnah have attributed such an allegation on Imam Alī. In this exchange at one point Imam Alī says:

وليس على وجه الأرض بدري إلا وهو معي ، وقد بايعني وقد رضي ، فلا يغرنكم من دينكم وأنفسكم ،

There is not a Badrī on Earth but he is with me and has done my bayah and is satisfied with me, thus, be careful lest he (mu`āwīyah) deceives you in your Dīn and yourselves..

Mawlā Alī is reported to have argued that Badrī Ṣaḥābah in particular are with him. There were a couple of Badrī Ṣaḥābah such as Sa`d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ that abstained from the battle but القليل كلمعدوم an insignificant number does not affect the general import. Moreover, from one of the earliest Sunni historical sources Khalīfah ibn Khayyāt with a reliable chain of transmitters going back to a contemporaneous source, the Ṣahābī `abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abzī states:

حدثنا أبو غسان قال: نا عبد السلام بن حرب عن يزيد بن عبد الرحمن عن جعفر
ـ أظنه ابن أبي المغيرة ـ عن عبدالله بن عبدالرحمن بن أبزى عن أبيه قال: شهدنا مع علي
ثمان مائة ممن بايع بيعة الرضوان، قتل منا ثلاثة وستون منهم عمار بن ياسر.

`abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abzī said: With Alī there were eight hundred Ṣaḥābah of bay`ah al-Riḍwān and sixty-three were killed from Saḥābah, amongst them was `Ammār ibn Yāsir.

In the year 6 AH during the expedition of Ḥudaybīyah in the Medinan period, prior to the treaty, the pledge of Riḍwān was taken from the Ṣaḥābah because Muslims had gone to Mecca to perform `Umrah and had no intention to fight. Rasūl Allah ﷺ sent Uthmān ibn Affān as his representitive to negotiate an entry for Muslims to peform `Umrah but the delay in Uthmān's return and Meccan's refusal to inform Muslims of his whereabouts, led the Muslims to believe that Uthmān ibn Affan had been murdered by the Quraysh. To avenge the death of Uthmān, Rasūl Allah ﷺ took the pledge of Riḍwān from fourteen hundred Ṣaḥabah; which also included all the Badrī Ṣahābah. After seeing the determination of Muslims, they returned Uthmān al-Ghanī, and agreed to the terms of the treaty of Ḥudaybīyah.

It is poetic that at Ṣiffīn those who were considered as the murderers of Uthmān at the pledge of Riḍwān were now fighting under the pretext of Uthmān's murder and those Ṣaḥābah of Riḍwān who gave their pledge to avenge the perceived murder of Uthmān were now defending the Ḥaqq with Imam Alī. Had there been any truth in their claim, these Ṣaḥābah of Riḍwān and Badr would have been on the other side but they were with Imam Alī. This report is above the standards usually required for the genre of maghāzī, sīyar and futūḥ.

Moreover, another report in this regard oft cited by Nawāṣib such as Ibn Taymīyah and his camp is the following reported by Imam Aḥmed Ibn Ḥanbal's son from his father. It is in his al-`Ilal wa ma`rifah al-rijāl and here it is from Ibn Taymīyah's Minhāj al-Sunnah:

وقال عبدالله بن أحمد، حدثنا أبي(*)، حدثنا أُمَيَّة بن خالد قال: قيل
لشعبة: إن أبا شيبة روى عن الحكم عن عبدالرحمن بن أبي ليلى، قال:
شهد صفّين من أهل بدر سبعون رجلا. فقال: كذب والله، لقد ذاكرت
الحكم بذلك، وذاكرناه في بيته، فما وجدناه شهد صفّين من أهل بدر
غير خُزَيْمة بن ثابت.

Abdullah ibn Aḥmed said My father reported from Umayyah ibn Khālid that It was said to Shu`bah that Abū Shaybah reported from al-Ḥakam who reported from `Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Laylā: seventy

> ṣaḥābah of Badr participated in Ṣiffīn. *Shu`bah said that by God, Abū Shaybah has lied. I had a discussion with al-Ḥakam in his house and we could not find Badrī ṣaḥabah other than Khuzaymah ibn Thābit*

`Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Laylā and his father was a Ṣaḥābī and participated in all campaigns of Imam Alī from his side. Prior to an analysis of the text, let us establish this point from authoritative biographies of Ṣaḥābah; al-Istī`āb of Ibn `abd al-Barr al-Mālikī:

(٣١٥٦) أبو ليلى الأنصارى والد عبد الرحمن بن أبى ليلى . اختلف فى اسمه .
فقيل يسار بن نمير . وقيل أوس بن خولى . وقيل داود بن [بليل بن][1] بلال بن
أحيحة . وقيل يسار بن بلال بن أحيحة بن الجلاح . وقيل بلال بن بُلَيْل[2] . وقال
ابن الكلبي : أبو ليلى الأنصارى اسمه داود بن بلال بن أحيحة بن الجلاح بن
الحريش بن جَحْجَبَى بن كلفة بن عوف [بن عمرو بن عوف][3] بن مالك بن
الأوس ، صحب النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ، وشهد معه أحدا وما بعدها من المشاهد ،
ثم انتقل إلى الكوفة ، وله بها دار فى جُهينة ، يلقب بالأيسر . روى عنه ابنه
عبد الرحمن ؛ وشهد هو وابنه عبد الرحمن مع على بن أبى طالب رضى الله عنه
مشاهدَه كلها .

Abū Laylā al-Anṣārī, father of `Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Laylā was a companion of the Prophetﷺ and participated in Uḥud and the campaigns thereafter...he and his son `Abd al-Raḥmān participated in all the campaigns with Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.

It is established that Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Laylā and his father were participants at Ṣiffīn from the side of Imam Alī and the report from Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal says that al-Ḥakam reports from Ibn Abī Laylā that there were seventy Badrī Ṣaḥābah who participated at Ṣiffin. The argument here is that when this was mentioned to Shu`bah he said that it is incorrect because I had a discussion with al-Ḥakam-the principal reporter-that the one and only Badrī participant was Khuzaymah ibn Thābit.

This latter contention attributed to Shu`bah is designed to negate the widespread report of al-Ḥakam by first reporting it as it was known then casting a shadow of doubt by appealing to the authority of Shu`bah, who in turn attributes a lie to al-Qādī Abū Shaybah and as reasoning says that there was only one Badrī Ṣaḥābī at Ṣiffīn. The justification to reject the Seventy Badrī Ṣaḥābīs is given as factually incorrect because there was only one Badrī Ṣaḥābī who took part in Ṣiffīn. As a matter of fact the reasoning to reject the seventy Badrīs is itself a lie. It is known through mutāwātir testimony that `Ammār ibn Yāsir participated at Ṣiffīn and this disproves the very justification of rejection. Moreover, Imam Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal did not assent to this claim himself. For example, see Musnad of Imam Aḥmed and his Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah:

(١١٨٧) حدثنا عبدالله قال حدثني ابي نا هاشم بن القاسم قثنا محمد يعني ابن راشد عن عبدالله بن محمد بن عقيل عن فضالة بن ابي فضالة الانصاري وكان ابو فضالة من اهل بدر قال خرجت مع ابي عائدا لعلي بن ابي طالب من مرض اصابه ثقل منه قال فقال له ابي ما يقيمك بمنزلك هذا لو اصابك اجلك لم يلك الا اعراب جهينة تحمل الى المدينة فان اصابك اجلك وليك اصحابك فقال علي ان رسول الله ﷺ عهد الي اني لا اموت حتى أؤمر ثم تخضب هذه يعني لحيته من دم هذه يعني هامته فقتل وقتل ابو فضالة مع علي يوم صفين .

(١١٨٧) أسناده حسن .

Imam Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal in his book Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah narrates and it is classed as authentic by its Salafī researcher Waṣi Allah ibn Moḥammed Abbās that Abū Fuḍālah al-Ansārī was a Badrī Ṣaḥābī and participated in Ṣiffīn on the side of Alī. This internal evidence by Imam Aḥmed himself negates the claim attributed to Shu`bah that one and *only* Badrī Ṣaḥābī to take part at Ṣiffin was Khuzayma ibn Thābit. If the difference is in the larger numbers as it is frequent in Sīrah, Futūḥ and Maghāzī literature, and reports of expeditions by al-Khulafah al-Rāshidūn then it is an acceptable variation. If the difference is of hundreds from hundreds or thousands from thousands then it is natural for the genre in which it occurs.

But when it is a specific negation, a categoric statement of the *one and only* kind then it falls prey to just a single counter example for its falsification. If it is said there were five hundred at a conference and the other says there were seven hundred then that is a natural approximation and historians are familair with such discrepancy. On the other hand, if one says that there was none but Zayd from Medina at the meeting then such a statement could easily be falsified by confirming another from Medina. And if the claim is that if there is another then I am a lier, then to prove the lie, one only needs to provide a single counter example and reject the text. However, the point is that the categoric statements of the *only*-kind present themselves to be falsified by just a single counter example.

Furthermore, Abū Shaybah is not the only one to report from al-Ḥakam ibn `Utaybah, rather there are various other individuals confirming more or less a similar narrative. Consider the following examples:

al-Ḥākim in his al-Mustadrak reports:

٤٥٥٩/ ١٥٧ - حدثنا أبو العباس محمد بن يعقوب، ثنا الخضر بن أبان الهاشمي، ثنا علي بن قادم، ثنا أبو إسرائيل، عن الحكم قال: شهد مع علي صفين ثمانون بدرياً وخمسون ومائتان ممن بايع تحت الشجرة.

٤٥٦٠/١٥٨ - أخبرنا أبو عبدالله محمد بن يعقوب، ثنا الخضر بن أبان الهاشمي، ثنا علي بن قادم، ثنا أبو إسرائيل، عن الحكم قال: شهد مع علي صفين الخ.

al-Ḥakam said: with Alī at Ṣiffīn there were eighty Badrī Ṣaḥābah and two hundred and fifty Ṣaḥābah from those who swore an oath under the tree.

Second report says the same with a slightly different chain at the start.

al-Khaṭīb al-Baghḍādī in his Talkhīṣ al-Mutashābih with a different chain to al-Ḥakam ibn Utaybah reports:

[٣٠٤] أخبرنا الحسنُ بنُ أبي بكر، أخبرنا أحمدُ بنُ إسحاق بن نيخَاب الطِّيبيُّ، أخبرنا إبراهيمُ بنُ الحسين بن دِيزيل، حدثنا يحيى بنُ سليمان الجُعْفيُّ، حدثنا محمد بنُ عَميرة النَّخَعيُّ؛ قال: حدثنا أبو إسرائيل العَبْسيُّ، عن الحكم بن عُتَيبة؛ قال:

«شهد صِفِّين مع عليٍّ ثمانون بَدْرِيًّا، وخمسون ومئةٌ ممَّن بايع النبيَّ ﷺ تحت الشجرة»(٢).

al-Ḥakam ibn Utaybah said: There were eighty Badrī Ṣaḥābah with Alī at Ṣiffīn and one hundred and fifty Ṣaḥābah from those who pledged an oath to the Prophet ﷺ under the tree.

Ibn al-`Adīm in his Bughyah al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh al-Ḥalab with different chain states:

وقرأت بخط بَنُوسَه وراق بني مُقْلة عن أبي الحسن المدائني أن أبا الحسن ابن أبي نعيم الفضل بن دُكَيْن قال : حدثنا جرير بن حازم عن يُونس بن خَبَّاب قال : شهد مع علي بن أبي طالب يوم صفين ثمانون بدرياً .

Ibn Khabāb said: There were eighty Badrī ṣaḥābah with Alī at Ṣiffīn

Again from al-Ḥakam ibn `Utaybah, Ibn al-`Adīm reports with a different chain:

وأنبأنا أبو العلاء أحمد بن شاكر قال : أخبرنا أبو محمد بن أحمد النحوي قال:
أخبرنا محمد بن محمد قال : أخبرنا أبو طاهر الباقلاني قال : أخبرنا أبو علي بن شاذان
قال : أخبرنا أبو الحسن الطَّيبي قال : حدثنا أبو إسحق الكِسائي قال : حدثنا يحيى
ـ يعني ابن سُلَيْمان ـ قال : حدثنا محمد بن عَميرة النخعي قـال : حدثنا أبـو
إسرائيل العبسي عن الحكم بن عُتَيبة قال : شهد صفين مع علي رضي الله عنه ثمانون
بدرياً ، وخمسون ومائة ممن بايع تحت الشجرة .

al-Ḥakam ibn Utaybah said: There were eighty Badrī Ṣaḥābah with Alī at Ṣiffīn and one hundred and fifty ṣaḥābah from those who pledged an oath to the Prophet ﷺ under the tree.

Ibn Kathīr in his al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah states:

علي رضى الله عنه بمن معه من الجنود من النخيلة قاصداً أرض الشام . قال ابو إسرائيـل عن الحكم
ابن عيينة : وكان فى جيشه ثمانون بدرياً ومائة وخمسون ممن بايع تحت الشجرة . رواه ابن ديزيل .

al-Ḥakam said: on the side of Alī there were eighty Badrī ṣaḥābah and hundred and fifty of those who pledged an oath under the tree.

`Abd al-Karīm al-Rāfa`ī al-Qazwīnī in his al-Tadwīn fī akhbār Qazwīn reports with his chain:

محمد بن أحمد بن راشد أبو بكر بن أبي الوزير القزوينى حدث عنه
أبو الحسين القطان فى الطوالات فقال : ثنا محمد بن أبي الوزير القزوينى ثنا
أحمد بن محمد بن أبي سلم ثنا محمد بن حسان ثنا أسباط و مالك بن إسماعيل
عن أبي إسرائيل عن الحكم قال : شهد مع على رضى الله عنه ثمانون
بدريا و مائتان وخمسون ممن بايع تحت الشجرة ـ و به عن محمد بن حسان

al-Ḥakam said: there were eighty Badrī ṣaḥābah with Alī and two hundred and fifty ṣaḥābah who swore an oath under the tree.

Mohammed al-Tubānī, a Wahābī scholar, who goes an extra mile to defend Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān says in his Ifādah al-akhyār bi bara'ah al-abrār:

أسس عليه الاسلام) وذ كر يحي بن سليمان الجعفى أحد شيوخ الامام
البخارى فى تأليفه فى صفين بسند جيد عن أبي مسلم الخولانى أنه قال لمعاوية
أأنت تنازع علياً فى الخلافة أوأنت مثله قال لا ، وانى لأعلم أنه أفضل منى
وأحق بالأمر ولكن ألستم تعلمون أن عثمان قتل مظلوماً وأنا ابن عمه
ووليه أطلب بدمه فأتوا علياً فقولوا له يدفع الينا قتلة عثمان . فأتوه فكلموه
فقال يدخل فى البيعة ويحاكمهم الى ، فامتنع معاوية فخرج اليه فى أهل العراق

فى سبعين ألفاً فيهم تسعون بدرياً ، وسبعمائة من أهل بيعة الرضوان ،
وأربعمائة من سائر المهاجرين والأنصار . وخرج معاوية فى أهل الشام
فى خمسة وثمانين ألفاً ليس فيهم من الأنصار الا النعمان بن بشير ومسلمة

It is stated by Yaḥyā ibn Sulaymān al-Ju`fi, one of the Shaykhs of al-Imam al-Bukhārī in his book on Ṣiffīn with a strong chain....there were ninety Badrī Ṣaḥābah, seven hundred ṣaḥābah of riḍwān and four hundred from Muhājirūn and Ansār (were with Alī)...and with Mu`āwīyah there were none from Ansār except al-Nu`mān ibn Bashīr and Muslima ibn Makhlad...

Ibn `Asākir in his Tārīkh Dimashq narrates:

أَخْبَرَنَا أبو عبد الله البَلْخي، أنا أبو غالب محمد بن الحسن بن أحمد البَاقِلاني، أنا أبو علي بن شاذان، أنا أحمد بن إسحاق بن نيخاب، نا إبراهيم بن الحسين الكِسائي، نا عُقْبة بن مكرم الكوفي، نا يونس، عن عمرو بن شمر، عن جابر، عن محمد بن علي، ومحمد بن المطلب، وزيد بن حسن، قالوا: شهد مع علي بن أبي طالب في حربه من أصحاب بدر سبعون رجلاً، وشهد معه ممن بايع تحت الشجرة سبع مائة رجل، فيما لا يحصى مَن أصحاب رسول الله ﷺ، وشهد معه من التابعين ثلاثة بلغنا أن رسول الله ﷺ شهد لهم بالجنة: أُوَيس القَرَني، وزيد بن صُوْحان، وجُنْدَب الخير، فأما أُوَيس القرني فقتل في الرجالة يوم صِفّين، وأما زيد بن صُوْحان فقتل يوم الجمل.

Moḥammed Ibn Alī (Imam al-Bāqir), Moḥammed ibn al-Muṭṭalib and Zayd ibn Ḥasan said: there were ninety ṣaḥābah of Badr, seven hundred of ṣaḥābah of riḍwān and amongt them were other innumerable ṣaḥābah of Rasūl Allah ﷺ and it has reached us that three from the Tābi`īn who were given the glad tiding of jannah were Uways al-Qaranī, Zayd ibn Ṣūḥan and Jundub al-Khayr. Uways al-Qaranī was martyred at Ṣiffīn from the foot soldiers and Zayd ibn Ṣuḥān was martyred at Jamal.

Ibn `Asakir further reports that ahl al-Bayt had preserved the names of all Ṣaḥābah and others who participated in the campaigns with Imam Alī:

قال(١): وأنا البرقاني، أنا الحسين بن هارون الضَّبِّي، أنا أَحمد بن محمَّد بن سعيد الحافظ، أن جعفر بن محمَّد بن عمرو الخشاب أخبرهم قراءة حَدَّثَني أَبي، نا زيدان بن عمر بن البختري(٤)، حَدَّثَني غياث بن إبراهيم، عن الأجلح بن عَبْد اللّه الكِنْدي، قال: سمعت زيد بن علي وعَبْد اللّه بن الحسين(٥)، وجعفر بن محمَّد، ومحمَّد بن عَبْد اللّه بن الحسن يذكرون تسمية من شهد مع علي بن أَبي طالب من أصحاب رسول الله ﷺ، كلهم ذكره عن آبائه، وعن من أدرك من أهله. وسمعته أيضاً من غيرهم، فذكر أسماء جماعة من الصحابة، ثم قال: وخالد بن زيد أَبو أيوب الأنصاري بدري وهو صاحب منزل رسول الله ﷺ نزل عليه حين قدم المدينة حتى بنوا(٦) مسجده، وكان على مقدمة علي يوم النهر وعلى الرجالة يومئذ.

Ibn Abdullah al-Kindī says that I heard Zayd ibn Alī, Abdullah ibn al-Ḥasan, Ja`far al-Ṣādiq, Moḥammed Ibn Abdullah ibn al-Ḥasan mention the names of ṣaḥābah who participated in the battles on the side of Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib and they all related it from their ancestors...and I heard the names from other sources too who mentioned a group of ṣaḥabah....

It is evident that Imams of ahl al-Bayt and other supporters of ahl al-Bayt specifically preserved the names and contributions of Ṣaḥābah who participated in the campaigns in support of Imam Alī. Ubayd Ibn Abī Rāf`i who was the son of the client/servant of Rasūl Allah ﷺ and authored a book of all the participants from Ṣaḥābah with Imam Alī in his campaigns, narrating from his father and others. The book has been lost, thus far, though in earlier centuries `Ulamā have quoted from it. There are many instances of it in Tārīkh Baghdād of al-Khaṭīb. For the sake of a couple examples from that book, here it is quoted from al-Ṭibrānī's al-Kabīr:

٣٨٤- خالد بن أبي دجانة الأنصاري

٤١٣١- حدثنا محمد بن عثمان بن أبي شيبة ثنا ضرار بن صرد ثنا علي بن هاشم عن محمد بن عبيد الله بن أبي رافع عن أبيه في تسمية من شهد مع علي من أصحاب رسول الله ﷺ، خالد بن أبي دجانة رضي الله عنهم.

Ibn Abī Rāf`i from his father mentioned the names of the Ṣaḥābah who were with Alī in his campaigns and amongst them is Khālid ibn Abī Dujāna.

٣٨٥- خويلد بن عمرو الأنصاري .

٤١٣٢- حدثنا محمد بن عثمان بن أبي شيبة ثنا ضرار بن صرد ثنا علي بن هاشم عن محمد بن عبيد الله بن أبي رافع عن أبيه في تسمية من شهد مع علي رضي الله عنه من أصحاب النبي ﷺ، خويلد بن عمرو الأنصاري بدري [من بني سلمة].

Ibn Abī Rāf`i from his father mentioned the names of the Ṣaḥābah who were with Alī in his campaigns and amongst them is Khuwaylid ibn `Amr al-Ansāri who was a Badrī ṣaḥābī.

From list of the above Sunni references, it is evident that Ṣaḥābah and in particular the most senior and elevated Ṣaḥāhbah of Badr were with Imam Alī. The number of martyrs at Ṣiffīn was around fifty. For example, Ibn Kathīr in his al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah whilst discussing those who died at Ṣiffīn states that according to Abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-Barā':

ابن البراء - وكان فى أهل العراق - خمسة وعشرون بدريا ؛

Ibn al-Barā' from ahl al-Iraq (the side of Alī) said that there were fifty (martyrs) from Badrī Ṣaḥābah.

In the tradition of the accepted norms in the literature of Maghāzī, Sīyar and Futūḥ, collectively various narrations together, as above, sufficiently make a historiographically sound case that not only a great number of Ṣaḥābah but more importantly the Badrī Ṣaḥābah were at the forefront of the campaigns led by the Badrī ṣaḥābī himself, Imam Alī and those opposing him at Ṣiffīn from the Ṣaḥābah were only three or four at most, and their leader Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān was a ṣaḥābī of the Ṭulaqā category. The above references are from ahl al-sunnah works and reporters. An attempt has been made to only cite the accepted Sunnīs. For any historian, since the matter of numbers pertains to history and not aḥkām, a sound historical justification has been provided.

However, it is the habit of nawāṣib to cast doubt on an historical narrative by claiming that it is reported from shī`ī reporters. Whereas to justify their own claims, they resort to nāṣibīs. In an attempt to discredit the narrative presented by the great earlier historians, they label certain reporters as shī`ah and then outrightly reject everything. Notwithstanding the fact that even if those reporters were shī`ah, it does not prove that they were liars. One has to only study the narrators in the six books and you would discover that a significant number were stated as shī`ah narrators but judged to be truthful. Not only that but there is a considerable number of nawāṣib and khawārij transmitters considered to be pristine, just see Ṣaḥīh al-Bukhārī. There are people who wrote peoms in praise of Ibn Muljim, the murderer of Imam Alī, and there are those who cursed Imam Alī seventy times prior to their prayers. See, for instance, Imrān ibn Ḥaṭṭān or Ḥarīz ibn Uthmān in Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī.

Moreover, the prolific Mālikī Imām, al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū al-Khaṭṭāb Ibn Diḥya al-Malikī also refutes the criticism in the report mentioned earlier about only one Badrī Ṣaḥābī Khuzayma ibn Thābit at Ṣiffīn, and this was long before Ibn Taymīyah was born. Al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū al-Khaṭṭāb says In his Ā`lām al-Naṣr al-Mubīn:

قال ذو النسبين ـ أيده الله ـ: وقتل من أصحاب علي ـ رضي الله عنه ـ خمسة وعشرون بدرياً قد شهد الله لهم بالجنة على لسان رسوله ﷺ، وأثنى عليهم في كتابه الكريم ووصفهم بالسبق إلى الإيمان، وحسبك بتزكية الله العظيم. وكان مع علي ـ عليه السلام ـ من أهل بدر سبعون رجلاً، وشهد معه ممن[7] بايع تحت الشجرة سبع مائة رجل فيمن لا يحصى من أصحاب رسول الله ﷺ[8] ومن خيار التابعين. ومع علي رايات كانت مع رسول الله ﷺ يقاتل بها أعداء

الله، ذكر هذا أبو إسحاق الكسائي في تأليفه في «صفين»، وقد تقدم سندي إليه عن أبي جعفر محمد بن علي بن الحسين[1] ومحمد بن المطلب[2] وزيد بن الحسن[3] قالوا: شهد[4] مع علي ـ عليه السلام ـ في حربه من أصحاب بدر (الكلام إلى آخره) . . . وذكر أبو جعفر محمد بن عمرو بن موسى العقيلي[5] في كتاب «الجرح والتعديل» له[6] في حرف الألف: إبراهيم بن عثمان أبا شيبة العبسي[7] [حدثني أبي

فقال][1]: حدثنا عبد الله بن أحمد بن حنبل، قال: حدثني أبي، قال: حدثنا أُمية بن خالد[2]، قال: قلت لشعبة[3]: إن أبا شيبة حدثنا عن الحكم[4] عن عبد الرحمن بن أبي ليلى[5] أنه قال: شهد صفين من أهل بدر سبعون رجلاً/ .

فقال: كذب والله، لقد ذاكرت الحكم ذلك وذكرناه في بيته فما وجدنا شهد صفين من أهل بدر سوى خزيمة بن ثابت[6].

قال ذو النسبين ـ أيده الله ـ: انظر إلى هذا الكذب البَحْث والتحامل على أهل البيت، ألم يشهدها يا جاهل[1] عمّار بن ياسر، وهو بإجماع[2] ممن شهد بدراً، وسهل بن حُنيف الأوسي، وقد أجمعوا أنه شهد بدراً والمشاهد كلها مع رسول الله ﷺ، وثبت معه يوم أحد، وكان بايعه يومئذ على الموت [. . .][3]، واستخلفه علي ـ رضي الله عنه ـ حين خرج من المدينة إلى البصرة، وشهد مع علي ـ رضي الله عنه ـ صفين، وولاه على فارس. ومات سهل بن حنيف بالكوفة سنة ثمانٍ وثلاثين، وصلّى علي عليه وكبّر ستاً وقال إنه بدري، ذكره جميع من ألّف في الصحابة ـ رضي الله عنهم ـ[4].

From those who were killed from the companions of Alī (raḍī Allah anhu) were fifty Badrī Ṣaḥābah about whom Allah had promised paradise as informed by Rasūl Allah ﷺ and Allah praised them in his Noble Book and exalted them for their early acceptance of Islam and granted them with a great purification. And with Alī (alayhi al-salām) were seventy Badrī Ṣaḥābah and also seven hundred from the Riḍwānī Ṣaḥābah who participated with him and also innumerable from the companions of Rasūl Allah ﷺ and from the best of tābi`īn and also with Alī were the flags of Rasūl Allah ﷺ with which He ﷺ fought the enemies of God. This has been mentioned by Abū Isḥāq al-Kasā'ī in his work on Ṣiffīn and I have presented my chain of transmission to him, from Abū Ja`far Moḥammed ibn Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn and Moḥammed ibn al-Muṭṭalib and Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan. They said: with Alī (alayhi al-salām) participated the Badrī Ṣaḥābah...(similar statement as above). And Moḥammed ibn Amr ibn Musā al-Uqaylī mentioned in his book al-jarḥ wa-'l t`adīl under the names Ibrahīm ibn Uthmān Abū Shaybah al-`Absī, he said Ubayy reported to me that Abdullah the son of Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal said that my father said that Umayyah ibn Khalid said that I said to Shu`bah that Abū Shaybah reported that al-Ḥakam reported from Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Laylā that seventy men from Badrī Ṣaḥabah participated at Ṣiffīn. So he said: By God! He has lied. I had a discussion with him in his house about it and we could not find anyone from Badrī Ṣaḥābah except for Khuzaymah ibn Thābit.

Imam Ibn Diḥyah al-Mālikī responds to this: look at this lie and bias towards ahl al-bayt! Do you not know O ignorant person! that by virtue of consensus it is proven that Ammār ibn Yāsir participated at Ṣiffīn and the `Ulamā have consensus that also Sahl ibn Ḥunayf participated at Ṣiffīn and he also participated in all the campaigns led by Rasūl Allah ﷺ and remained firm on Uḥud and his bayah on that day was to fight until death...Alī (raḍī Allah anhu) deputised him in his place when He went from Medina to Baṣra and he participated with Alī (raḍī Allah anhu) at Ṣiffīn and He appointed him as governor of fāris and Sahl ibn Ḥunayf died in Kūfa in the year thirty eight. Alī led his funeral prayer and said he was a Badrī and all who wrote about ṣaḥābah, wrote about him.

Finally, let us cite just one more reference as corroborating evidence about participation of Badrī Ṣaḥābah. Ibn al-Jawzī al-Ḥanbalī who is known to be extremely stringent in his views about ḥadīth and he has even declared many ṣaḥīḥ aḥādīth as fabrications. The muḥaddithūn have refuted him in many works such as Ta`aqqubāt al-Suyūṭī which is a refutation of Ibn al-Jawzī's al-Mawḍū`āt. In his book kitāb al-ḍu`āfā', Ibn al-Jawzī comments on a report Ḥabbah ibn Juwayn al-`Uranī:

٧٤٨ ـ حَبَّة بن جُوَين، أبو قدامة، العُرني، الكوفي :
يروي عن عليّ ويكذب فيما يروي، روى أنّ علياً كان معه بِصِفِّين ثمانـون بدرياً وكذب فإنّه ما شهد مع علي رضي الله عنه صفين من أهل بدر إلا خُزَيمة .

Ḥabbah al-`Uranī reports from Alī and lies in what he reports. He has reported that with Alī at Ṣiffīn there were eighty Badrī Ṣaḥābah. He has lied because there was none with Alī at Ṣiffīn from Badrī Ṣaḥābah except Khuzaymah!

This is extreme and factually incorrect on two counts. Firstly, the claim with which Ibn al-Jawzī accuses al-`Uranī is false and contradicts with the unanimous agreement. His categoric denial that there was no one else but Khuzaymah from Badrīs at Ṣiffīn is false which makes his accusation of al-`Uranī as a liar also false. For example, there is definitive evidence that `Ammār ibn Yāsir participated at Ṣiffīn and was martyred at Ṣiffīn. Here is what al-`Asqalanī says in the biography of Ammār ibn Yāsir in his book al-Iṣābah:

وتَواتَرتِ الاحاديثُ عن النبيِّ ﷺ أن عمارًا تَقْتُلُه الفئةُ الباغيةُ ، وأجمَعوا

على أنَّه قُتِلَ مع عليٍّ بصِفِّين

There is unanimous agreement that Ammār was killed at Ṣiffīn whilst fighting for Alī

It is common knowledge that `Ammār ibn Yāsir was a Badrī Ṣaḥābī so Ibn al-Jawzī's claim that al-Uranī is a liar because *only* Khuzaymah from the Badrīs took part in Ṣiffīn would make the one making this claim a liar. Secondly, al-`Uranī cannot be declared a liar according to the standards of Ḥadīth reporters. In the Tahdhīb al-Kamāl, al-Mizzī states:

وكان من شيعة عليّ ، وشهد معه المشاهد كلَّها

Ḥabbah al-`Uranī was from the party of Alī and he participated with Him in all his campaigns.

al-Uranī was a companion of Imam Alī and an eyewitness to his battles. This makes him a valuable source for the information. Furthermore, al-Ṭibrānī is quoted by al-Mizzī:

قال أبو القاسم الطَّبَراني : يقال إنَّه رأى النَّبيَّ ﷺ

al-Ṭibrānī said: It has been said that he had seen the Prophet ﷺ

Given the close proximity in time, some even thought that Ḥabbah al-Uranī was a ṣaḥābī though it is incorrect as al-Ṭibrānī has stated this passively. Moreover, we know that Ḥabbah al-`Uranī took part in Ṣiffīn from the above biographical detail. Now, let us examine the opinion of the prominent Imams of impugnement and justification have said about al-`Uranī. al-Mizzī in Tahdhīb al-Kamāl states:

وقال أحمد بن عبد الله العِجْليُّ : كوفي ، تابعي ، ثقة .

Imam al-`Ijlī said: He was a Tāb`ī and an authentic reporter and belonged to Kufa.

In Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb of al-Asqalānī under the details about Ḥārithah ibn Muḍarrab al-`Abdī:

وقال ابوجعفر محمد بن الحسين البغدادی سألت اباعبدالله عن الثبت عن علی
فقال عبيدة و ابوعبدالرحمن وحارثة وحبة بن جوين وعبد خير قال

Abū Ja`far al-Baghdādī says that I asked Abū Abdillah (Imam Ahmed Ibn Ḥanbal) about the trustworthy reporters from Alī. He said: Ubaydah, Abū abd al-Raḥmān, Ḥārithah, **Ḥabbah ibn Juwayn** and `Abd Khayr.

al-Mizzī in T. al-Kamal states:

وقال يحيى بن سَلَمة بن كُهَيْل ، عن أبيه : ما رأيتُ حبةَ العُرَنيَّ قط إلا يقول : سُبحان الله ، والحمد لله ، ولا إله إلا الله ، والله أكبر ، إلا أن يكون يصلي أو يحدثنا[١] .

Yaḥyā ibn Salamah ibn Kuhayl reports from his Father: whenever I met Ḥabbah al-Uranī he was either reciting SubḥānAllah, wa'l-ḥamdulillah wa Lā Ilāha illā Allah wa-Allahu akbar or praying or relating ḥadīth to us.

al-Mizzī further says:

روى له النَّسائيُّ في خصائص عليّ[١] ، وفي مسنده حديثاً واحداً ، عن علي : « أنا أول من صَلَّى مع رسول الله ﷺ » . وقد وقع لنا عالياً .

al-Nasā'ī has reported a ḥadīth from him in his musnad from Alī that' I was the first one to pray with Rasūl Allah 'ﷺ and it has also been reported to us from an elevated route.

al-Nasā'ī reported a Ḥadīth from him and the same hadīth has also been reported from a different route. Indeed, some have criticised al-`Uranī as narrator of the Ḥadīth in order to render it weak but al-Mizzī says that it has also been reported through a better chain of transmission. However, if you look at the chain of transmission from al-`Uranī downwords, it demonstrates that Shu`bah reports from al-`Uranī. It is known that Shu`bah would only narrate from trustworthy narrators. This also indicates that he was authentic and reliable. Here is the sanad:

أخبـرنا بـه أبو الحسن ابن البخـاري ، وزينب بنت مكي ،
قـالا : أخبرنـا أبو حفص بن طبـرزد ، قال : أخبـرنا الحـافظ أبـو
البركات عبد الوهاب بن المبارك الأنماطي ، وأبو الحسن محمد بن
أحمد بن صِرْما ، قالا : أخبرنا عبـد الله بن محمد الصَّـرِيفيني ،
قـال : أخبرنـا أبو القـاسم بن حَبَابـة ، قال : حـدثنا أبـو القـاسم
البغوي ، قال : حدثنا علي بن الجَعْد ، قال : أخبرنا شعبة ، عن
سلمة بن كهيل ، قال : سمعت حبّة العُرَنيَّ يقول : سمعت علياً
يقول : « أنا أول من أسلم أو صلَّى مع رسول الله ﷺ » . رواه عن
محمد بن المثنى ، عن عبد الرحمان بن مهـدي ، عن شعبة(٢) ،
فكأنَّ شيخ مشايخنا حُدِّثَ به عن أصحابِهِ .

Here Shu`bah reports from Ḥabbah through Salamah ibn Kuhayl...

Here is another example from Shu`bah reporting from al-`Urani, it is reported in Akhbār al-Quḍāh of Wakī`:

حدثني محمد بن اسحاق الصغاني، قال: حدثنا مسلم بن ابراهيم، قال : حدثنا
شعبة عن سلمة ، عن حبة العرني قال : كتب عمر بن الخطاب إلى أهل الكوفة أنتم
رأس العرب وجماعتها، وأنتم سهمهم الذى أرمى به إذا خشيت من ها هنا وهاهنا ،

وقد بعثت إليكم عبدالله بن مسعود خيره لكم وآثرتكم به على نفسى .

The two reports above are both from Shu`bah relying upon Ḥabbah al-`Urani which translates that he considered him authentic. The latter report is a Naṣīḥa in the form of a letter from Umar al-Fārūq to the people of Kufa about which al-Uranī reports. However, al-Nasā'ī reports from him in his Khaṣāiṣ as above but he is also reported in al-Mizzī and elswhere to comment about al-`Uranī:

وقال النَّسائيُّ : ليسَ بالقوي .

Laysa bil-qawī

al-Dhahabī explains al-Nasā'ī's term in his al-Mūqiẓah:

وقد قيل في جماعات : ليس بالقـوى ، واحتُجَّ به ، وهذا النسـائى قد قـال فى
عدة : « ليس بالقوي » ، ويخـرج لهم في كـتابه ، قـال : « قولنا : ليس بـالقوى ليس
بجرح مفسد ».

For many reporters al-Nasā'ī says laysa bil-qawi but also reports from them in his book. al-Nasā'ī explains that this is not a strong criticism that would discard a transmitter.

al-Mizzī also relates the opinion of Yaḥyā ibn Ma`īn but upon investigation it was discovered that al-Mizzī presents it as it was reported in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī. It is not a damning opinion but in our quest for an accurate view, the earliest source for his view of al-`Uranī is traced in al-Jarḥ wa'l-Ta`dīl by Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī; which is one of the earliest works on impugnment and justification of narrators. Here is the view of Ibn Ma`īn:

١١٣٠ – حبة العرنى و هو ابن جوين من بجيلة يكنى ابا قدامة روى
عن على و ابن مسعود روى عنه سلمة بن كهيل و الحكم بن عتيبة ومسلم
الاعور سمعت ابى يقول ذلك . حدثنا عبد الرحمن قال قرئ على العباس
ابن محمد الدورى عن يحيى بن معين انه قال : حبة العرنى ليس بشىء .

al-Abbās from Yaḥyā ibn Ma`īn: Ḥabbah al-`Uranī is *laysa bi-shay*

So the question is what does Ibn Ma`īn suggest by using the term *laysa bi-shay* for a reporter. It is understood that at times the term has other phrases attached to it such as *la yuktab ḥadīthuhu* which then indicates a different type of criticism of the reporter. However, in the case at hand of Ḥabbah al-`Uranī what does it mean when Ibn Ma`īn says *laysa bi-shay* only. This is explained by al-`Asqalanī in his Muqaddimah of fatḥ al-Bārī. Here it is from al-Sakhāwī as stated in his Faṭḥ al-Mughīth:

وما أدرج في هذه المرتبة من ليس بشيء هو المعتمد، وإن قال ابن
القطّان: إن ابن معين إذا قال في الراوي ليس بشيء إنّما يريد أنّه لم يرو حديثاً
كثيراً[1].

When someone is categorised with laysa bi-shay, he is trusted reporter. Ibn al-Qaṭṭān said that when Yaḥyā ibn Ma`īn says laysa bi-shay about a reporter then he means that this reporter is not a narrator of a large number of ḥadīth.

This makes it clear that in the connotation of the term *laysa bi-shay* acocording to Ibn Ma`īn, it means not a reporter of a large quantity of Ḥadīth. It does not make a narrator unacceptable but rather at most it is a mildest of criticisms. In any case, the reporter is definately not a fabricator. Furthermore, Abū Dā'ūd suggests the import of laysa bi-shay by Ibn Ma`īn in Sūwālāt al-Ājurrī:

٧٠١ ـ قلت لأبي داود: العوام بن حمزة[2]؟ [قال][3] حدث عنه يحيى القطان.
قال أبو عبيد: قلت لأبي داود: قال عباس عن يحيى بن معين: إنه ليس بشيء[4]. قال:
ما نعرف له حديثاً منكراً[*].

I asked Abū Dā'ūd that Ibn Ma`īn said *laysa bi-shay* for al-`awām ibn ḥamza? He said: (it means) we do not know of a denounced ḥadīth from him.

Yaḥyā ibn Ma`īn's opinion of Ḥabbah al-`Uranī is that of an acceptable narrator be it with a mild criticism. In any case, it is far from Ibn al-Jawzī's extreme view. Moreover, al-Mizzī provides the opinion of another Ḥadīth scholar:

وقال صالح بن محمد البَغْداديُّ : حَبَّة العُرَني من أصحاب
عليّ ، شيخٌ ، وكان يتشيع ، ليس هو بمتروك ، ولا ثَبْت ، وَسَطٌ .

Ṣāliḥ ibn Moḥammed al-Baghdādī said: Ḥabbah al-`Uranī is from the companions of Alī, a shaykh, and he was Shi`ī but not a discarded reporter. He is niether strong nor weak reporter but in the middle.

According to the categorisation of al-Baghdādī, al-`Uranī is a reliable narrator of the wasaṭ/medium grade. He has also called him a shī`ī which in the classical usage means a person who loves the ahl al-bayt intensely. Some amongst the muḥaddithūn, unfortunately, are extreme in their judgement of labeling narrators as shī`ī in order to impugn them. More on this later. However, from those who outrightly rejected al-`Uranī's authenticity is Ibrahīm ibn Ya`qūb al-Jūzjānī:

وقال إبراهيم بن يعقوب الجُوزجاني : غير ثقة .

Ibrāhīm ibn Ya`qūb al-Jūzjānī said: he is not reliable.

Eventhough al-Jūzjānī was an earlier ḥadīth critic and among the shaykhs of Imam Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal, Ibn Ma`īn and others but he is a well known nāṣibī; who had an extreme antagonism towards Imam Alī and ahl al-bayt. The scholars of ḥadīth have pointed out explicitly that al-Jūzjānī's criticism of the companions of Imam Alī and other lovers of Imam Alī from Kufa, must be ignored as he was biased. al-`Asqalānī, for example, states in Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb:

و اتفاقها فروى ان في خمس وعشرين من الا بل خمسا من الغنم . قلت .
تعصب الجوزجاني على اصحاب علي معروف ولا انكار على عاصم فيا روى

I (al-asqalānī) say that bias of al-Jūzjānī towards the companions of Alī is well known.

al-`Uranī was a companion of Imam Alī and had an immense love for him and since al-Jūzjānī is prejudiced in his criticism hence his impugnment is rejected. Furthermore, al-`Asqalānī states in his Muqaddima of Fatḥ al-Bārī:

وأما الجوزجاني فقد قلنا غير مرة إن جرحه
لا يقبل في أهل الكوفة لشدة انحرافه ونصبه

About al-Jūzjānī we have stated on numerous occasions that his criticism of the people of Kūfah is not accepted because of his extreme animosity towards ahl al-bayt and his antagonism towards Alī.

It is sufficient to make the point that al-Jūzjānī's rejection of al-`Uranī is due to his bias and hatred for Imam Alī and not for an objective rationale. There are other critics of Ḥadīth narrators

who have weakened al-`Uranī such as al-Dāraquṭnī, Ibn Ḥibbān and others. al-Dāraquṭnī is known for his severity in narrator critique and he has even weakened around two hundred reporters in Ṣaḥīh al-Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīh Muslim. As for Ibn Ḥibbān, he has in his book Kitāb al-Thiqāt authenticated al-`Uranī and in his book Kitāb al-majruḥīn has weakened him. However, as you have seen that prominent scholars of Ḥadīth have authenticated al-`Uranī and others have weakened him. Ibn al-Jawzī accepts that al-`Uranī has reported that eighty Badrī Ṣaḥābah participated in Ṣiffīn on the side of Imam Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib but calls him a liar without establishing the reasoning for discrediting him and what he provides as the basis is factually incorrect.

Prior to a conclusion to this section, let us just cite an example to demonstrate the idea that a reporter is considered authentic according to Muslim and he reports from him in his Ṣaḥīḥ yet Ibn Ḥibban declares him a fabricator; which is the strongest and worse criticism for a narrator. See Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb for Aflaḥ ibn Sa`īd:

قلت: وذكره العقيلي في الضعفاء فقال لم يروعنه ابن مهدي وقال ابن حبان
يروي عن الثقات الموضوعات لا يحل الاحتجاج به ولا الرواية عنه بحال.

Ibn Ḥibbān said that he narrates fabrications and attributes them to authentic reporters and it is not permitted to narrate from him.

Eventhough Ibn Ḥibbān had judged a narrator to be a fabricator but Muslim has considered him worthy of transmitting from him. In the case, of al-`Uranī we find that prominent classical authorities have validated him and the critics only mildly weakened him. On the whole, this makes him a reliable narrator. Consider the judgment of famous Salafī commentator Aḥmed Mohammed Shākir on Musnad of Imam Ahmed:

حبة العرني: هو حبة بن
جوين: تابعي ثقة، وثقه أحمد والعجلي، وضعفه غيرهما، ولم يذكره البخاري ولا
النسائي في الضعفاء. «حبة» بفتح الحاء وتشديد الباء الموحدة. «جوين» بالجيم والواو
مصغرا. «العرني» بضم العين وفتح الراء. والحديث في مجمع الزوائد ٩: ١٠٢ وقال:
«رواه أحمد وأبو يعلى باختصار، والبزار والطبراني في الأوسط، وإسناده حسن». وسيأتي
بعضه مختصرا بإسناد صحيح في ١١٩١.

Aḥmed Shākir comments: Ḥabbah al-`Uranī: he is Ḥabbah ibn Juwayn: Tāb`ī Trustworthy, Aḥmed and al-`Ijlī have authenticated him and others have weakened him and al-Bukharī and al-Nasā`ī did not mention him amongt weak narrators...In the ḥadīth by him in majma al-Zawā'id, al-Haythamī said that it is reported by Aḥmed, Abū Ya`lā, al-Bazzār, and al-Ṭibrānī and its chain of transmission is authentic. At number 1190, It is partially related with a Ṣaḥīh chain.

Aḥmed Moḥammed Shākir and al-Ḥaythamī also confirm our argument that Ḥabbah al-`Uranī is a trustworthy reporter of hadīth. It is evident from the entire precdeing discussion in this section that there is reliable collective evidence from reports that range from ṣaḥīh to mursal, emanating from eyewitnesses that at Ṣiffīn on the side of Imam Alī there were around seventy to ninety Badrī Ṣaḥābah. Their total number at the time was, perhaps, less than a hundred and their majority supported Imam Alī in his campaigns and there were none on the side of Mu`āwīyah ibn

Abī Sufyān. It is unanimous amongst Muslims that the best of all Ṣaḥābah are the Badrī Ṣaḥābah and qualitatively their opinion outweighs all others.

Moreover, the prominent `Ulamā from classical times to this day, from different schools of ahl al-Sunnah have endorsed the historical fact that Badrī Ṣaḥābah as well as others from Muḥājirūn and Anṣār participated alongside Imam Alī in his campaigns. Consider the following wide range of examples:

Moḥammed al-Tubānī, a Wahābī scholar, who goes an extra mile to defend Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān admits in his Ifādah al-akhyār bi bara'ah al-abrār:

أسس عليه الاسلام) وذكر يحي بن سليمان الجعفى أحد شيوخ الامام
البخارى فى تأليفه فى صفين بسند جيد عن أبى مسلم الخولانى أنه قال لمعاوية
أأنت تنازع علياً فى الخلافة أوأنت مثله قال لا ، وانى لأعلم أنه أفضل منى
وأحق بالأمر ولكن ألستم تعلمون أن عثمان قتل مظلوماً وأنا ابن عمه
ووليه أطلب بدمه فأتوا علياً فقولوا له يدفع الينا قتلة عثمان . فأتوه فكلموه
فقال يدخل فى البيعة ويحاكمهم الى ، فامتنع معاوية فخرج اليه فى أهل العراق

فى سبعين ألفاً فيهم تسعون بدرياً ، وسبعمائة من أهل بيعة الرضوان ،
وأربعمائة من سائر المهاجرين والأنصار . وخرج معاوية فى أهل الشام
فى خمسة وثمانين ألفاً ليس فيهم من الأنصار الا النعمان بن بشير ومسلمة

It is stated by Yaḥyā ibn Sulaymān al-Ju`fi, one of the Shaykhs of al-Imam al-Bukhārī in his book on Ṣiffīn with a strong chain....there were ninety Badrī Ṣaḥābah, seven hundred ṣaḥābah of Riḍwān and four hundred from Muhājirūn and Ansār (were with Alī)...and with Mu`āwīyah there were none from Ansār except al-Nu`mān ibn Bashīr and Muslima ibn Makhlad...

Ibn al-`Imād al-Ḥanablī, In his shadhrāt al-dhahab comments on the participants:

ثلاثين ألفاً، وأهلُ الشام مائةَ ألف وخمسةً وثلاثين ألفاً، وكان في جانب عليٍّ جماعة من البدريِّين وأهلِ بيعة الرِّضْوان، وراياتِ رسول الله ﷺ، والإجماع منعقد على إمامته وبغي(٢) الطائفة الأخرى، ولا يجوز تكفيرُهم كسائر البُغاة، واستدل أهل السُّنَّةِ والجماعة على ترجيح جانب عليٍّ بدلائل، أظهرُها وأثبتُها قوله ﷺ لعمار بن ياسر: «تَقْتُلُكَ الفِئَةُ البَاغِيَةُ» وهو حديث ثابت(٣). ولما بلغ معاويةَ ذلك قال: إنما قتله من أخرجه، فقال عليٌّ: إذاً قَتَلَ رسولُ الله ﷺ حمزةً لأنه أخرجه، وهو إلزام لا جواب عنه، وحجةٌ لا اعتراض عليها، وكان

On the side of Alī there were a large group of Badrī Ṣaḥābah and Riḍwānī Ṣaḥābah and the flags of Rasūl Allah ﷺ and the ijmā` had been established upon his caliphate and those who fought him were bāghīs but it is not permissible to call them kāfirs like other bāghīs and ahl al-sunnah wa'l-jamā`h prefer the side of Alī with proofs and the most strong of those is the ḥadīth of the Prophet ﷺ that Ammār will be killed by the rebels and this is an established ḥadīth and when Mu`āwīyah heard this he said that Ammār was killed by those who brought him. Alī replied that, that means Ḥamzah was killed by Rasūl Allah ﷺ because He ﷺ brought him to the battle. This is such a response which has no answer and such a solid proof that cannot be criticised...

al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū al-Khaṭṭāb Ibn Diḥya al-Malikī, states the fact in his Ā`lām al-Naṣr:

قال ذو النسبين ـ أيده الله ـ: وقتل من أصحاب علي ـ رضي الله عنه ـ خمسة وعشرون بدرياً قد شهد الله لهم بالجنة على لسان رسوله ﷺ، وأثنى عليهم في كتابه الكريم ووصفهم بالسبق إلى الإيمان، وحسبك بتزكية الله العظيم. وكان مع علي ـ عليه السلام ـ من أهل بدر سبعون رجلاً، وشهد معه ممن(7) بايع تحت الشجرة سبع مائة رجل فيمن لا يحصى من أصحاب رسول الله ﷺ(8) ومن خيار التابعين. ومع علي رايات كانت مع رسول الله ﷺ يقاتل بها أعداء

From those who were killed from the companions of Alī (raḍī Allah anhu) were fifty Badrī Ṣaḥābah about whom Allah had promised paradise as informed by Rasūl Allah ﷺ and Allah praised them in his Noble Book and exalted them for their early acceptance of Islam and granted them with a great purification. And with Alī (alayhi al-salām) were seventy Badrī Ṣaḥābah and also seven hundred from the Riḍwānī Ṣaḥābah participated with him and also innumerable from the companions of Rasūl Allah ﷺ and from the best of tābi`īn and with Alī were the flags of Rasūl Allah ﷺ with which He ﷺ fought the enemies of God.

Imām Abū Bakr al-Jaṣṣāṣ al-Ḥanafī (d. 370) the great classical Ḥanafī Uṣūlī Imām in his momentous work Aḥkām al-Qur'ān confirms the fact:

بسلاح وغيره وجب أن يجرى على عمومه وأيضا قاتل على بن ابى طالب رضى الله عنه الفئة الباغية بالسيف ومعه من كبراء الصحابة وأهل بدر من قد علم مكانهم وكان محقاً فى

Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib (raḍī Allah anhu) fought the bāghī party with the sword and with him were senior Ṣaḥābah and Ṣaḥabah of Badr whose lofty status is known.

al-Zarqānī al-Mālikī in his sharḥ al-ẓarqānī `alā Muwaṭṭā al-Imām Mālik states:

ومسرح بنيه معهايوما (ويوم صفين) بكسر الصاد المهملة والفاء المشددة موضع قرب الرقة بشاطئ
الفرات كانت به الوقعة العظمى بين علي ومعاوية غرة صفر سنة سبع وثلاثين فمن ثم احترز الناس
السفر في صفر وذلك ان عليا بايعه أهل الحل والعقد بعد قتل عثمان وامتنع معاوية في أهل
الشام فكتب اليه علي مع جرير البجلي بالدخول في الطاعة فأبى فخرج اليه علي في أهل العراق في
سبعين ألفا فيهم تسعون بدريا وسبعمائة من أهل بيعة الرضوان وأربعمائة من سائر المهاجرين
والانصار وخرج معاوية في أهل الشام في خمسة وثمانين ألفا ليس فيهم من الانصار الا النعمان
ابن بشير ومسلمة بن مخلد والتقى الجمعان بصفين ودامت الحرب مائة يوم وعشرة أيام فقتل من أهل

Those qualified to elect paid their allegiance to Alī after the murder of Uthmān and Alī wrote to Mu`āwīyah to pay allegiance but he refused...then Alī went to fight him with an army of seventy thousand from the people of Iraq and with him were ninety Badrī Ṣaḥābah, seven hundred Riḍwānī Ṣaḥābah and four hundred from all Muhājirūn and Ansār. Mu`āwīyah came with eighty five thousand from people of Shām and there were none with him from Ansār except al-Nu`mān ibn Bashīr and Muslimah ibn Makhlad.

From the above representative sample of a wide range of scholars' opinion within the ahl al-Sunnah of the participation of Badrī Ṣaḥābah on the side of Imam Alī; further strengthens and demonstrates that we are not advancing a historical position strange to ahl al-Sunnah. But rather the Nāṣibī position is the strange one.

However, When we count the number of Muhājirūn, we find that there were around eighty three Badrīs who were also Muhājirūn and around ninety five Muhājirūn who travelled to Abyssinia. This makes them around two hundred Muhājirūn in total. There were fourteen hundred Riḍwānī Ṣaḥābah and three hundred and thirteen Badrī Ṣaḥābah. The battle of Ṣiffīn occurred in thirty-seven after Hijrah and the battle of Badr was in second year after Hijrah. This means that well over thirty years had elapsed and many had passed away in numerous campaigns upto the time of the third Khālīfah Rāshid `Uthmān ibn `Affān. It requires a separate study but for our purposes here, it stands to reason that approximately a hundred Badrī Ṣaḥābah remained, of the Riḍwānī Ṣaḥabah around half were alive and similarly a half from Muhājirun were alive.

It seems from the various independent Sunnī sources provided in the preceding discussion that the majority from each group of eminent Ṣaḥābah were with Imam Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. In particular, the Badrī Ṣaḥābah. On the side of Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān the maximum number we have is about five and only two are said to be from `Ansār and the other three including himself were from *Ṭulaqā;* they will be discussed in a subsequent section. However, had there been none with Imam Alī, Rasūl Allah ﷺ foretold that `Ammār will be killed by the bāghīs and `Ammār ibn Yāsir was martyred on the side of Ḥayder al-Karrār.

Remorse of Abstainers

Those among the Ṣaḥābah and tābi`īn who abstained from taking sides, eventually regretted their decision. Consider the following three examples. It is stated by Ibn `Abd al-Barr in his al-Istī`āb, Ibn Sa`d in his al-Ṭabaqat al-Kubrā, Ibn Athīr al-Jazarī in his Usud al-Ghābah and al-Dhahabī in his Sīyar 'Ālām al-Nubalā. Here it is cited from Majma` al-Zawā'id of al-Haythamī:

١٢٠٥٤ – وعن ابن عمر، قال: لم أجدنى آسى على شىء، إلا أنى لم أقاتل الفئة الباغية مع على.

رواه الطبرانى بأسانيد، وأحدها رجاله رجال الصحيح.

Ibn Umar said: I do not regret anything except that I did not fight against the rebels with Alī

al-Haythamī says that al-Ṭibrānī has reported it with many chains of transmission and one of those has Ṣaḥīḥ chain of reporters. Moreover, Ibn Umar's remorse prior to his demise was based on the fact that to fight on the side of Imam Alī was better than sitting at home. He further explains as reported in al-Istī`āb:

وذكر عمر بن شبة، قال: حدثنا عمر بن قُسيط، حدثنا أبو المَليح الرَّقى، عن ميمون بن مهران، عن ابن عمر أنه دخل عليه رجلٌ فسأله عن تلك المشاهد، فقال: كففتُ يدى، فلم أقدم، والمقاتلُ على الحق أفضلُ.

A man enquired Ibn Umar about the battles. He said: I restrained myself and did not participate whilst fighting on the side of ḥaqq was greater.

Ibn Umar did not pass away from this world until he realised that it was better for him to fight on the side of Imam Alī because Ḥaqq was with Imam Alī. Abdullah Ibn Umar also states being pressurised to accept Yazīd ibn Mu`āwīyah's ascension to the throne. Ibn Ḥajr al-`Asqalānī in his commentry on Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī states:

ووقع عند الاسماعيلى من طريق مؤمل بن اسماعيل عن حماد بن زيد فى أوله من الزيادة عن نافع «أن معاوية أراد ابن عمر على ان يبايع ليزيد فأبى وقال لا أبايع لأميرين، فأرسل اليه معاوية بمائة ألف درهم فأخذها، فدس اليه رجلا فقال له مايمنعك أن تبايع؟ فقال: ان ذاك لذاك - يعنى عطاء ذلك المال لأجل وقوع المبايعة - ان دينى عندى اذا لرخيص»

Mu`āwīyah asked Ibn Umar to give bayah to Yazīd but Ibn Umar refused and said I cannot pay allegiance to two rulers. So Mu`āwīyah sent one hundred thousand dirham to him, which he took. Mu`āwīyah sent a spy; who questioned him that what prevented you from bayah? He said: this is for this-meaning this money is for the allegiance. Indeed my Dīn has become cheap!

Abdullah Ibn Umar towards the end of his life was remorseful and considered that to fight against Mu`āwīyah was better and it was the Ḥaqq to aid Imam Alī. Moreover, Masrūq also did tawbah for not helping Imam Alī. It is reported in Usud al-Ghābah by Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī and here it is cited from Ibn Abd al-Barr al-Mālikī in his al-Istī`ab:

وقال الشعبي : ما مات مسروق حتى تاب إلى الله عن تخلّفه عن القتال مع
عليّ . ولهذه الأخبار طرق صحاح قد ذكرناها في موضعها . وروى من حديث

al-Sha`abī said: Prior to his death Masrūq had done tawbah for abstaining and not participating in the fights in support of Alī. Ibn Abd al-barr comments that these reports have authentic transmissions and we have stated that at appropriate places.

These examples clearly substantiate that the prominent ṣaḥabah and tābi`īn who refrained from taking sides, later realised, regretted and declared that Imam Ali was on Ḥaqq and they should have participated. One more example of this recognition that the Ḥaqq was with Mawlā Alī can be furnished from Sa`d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ. It is reported by al-Bazzār and al-Haythamī cites it in Kashf al-Astār an Zawā'id al-Bazzār:

٣٢٨٢ ـ حدثنا عمرو بن علي ، ثنا أبو داود ، ثنا سعد بن شعيب النهمي ،
عن محمد بن إبراهيم التيمي ان فلاناً دخل المدينة ، حاجاً ، فأتاه الناس يسلمون
عليه ، فدخل سعد ، فسلم ، فقال : وهذا لم يعنا(١) على حقنا ، على باطل
غيرنا ، قال : فسكت عنه ساعة ، فقال : مالك ؟ لا تتكلم ، فقال : هاجت
فتنة ، وظلمة ، فقلت لبعيري : اخ اخ ، فانخت ، حتى انجلت(٢) ، فقال
رجل : إني قرأتُ كتاب الله من اوله الى اخره ، فلم ار فيه ، اخ أخ ، قال :

فغضب سعد ، فقال : أما إذا قلت ذلك ، فإني سمعتُ رسول الله صلى الله عليه
وسلم يقول : علي مع الحق ، أو الحق مع علي حيث كان ، قال : من سمع ذلك
معك ، قال : قاله في بيت أم سلمة ، قال : فأرسل إلى أم سلمة ، فسألها ،
فقالت : قد قاله رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في بيتي ، فقال الرجل لسعد : ما
كنت عندي قط ألوم منك الآن ، فقال : ولم ؟ [قال](١) : لو سمعت هذا من
النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم لم أزل خادماً لعلي حتى أموت .

On his ḥajj trip a man came to Medina and Sa`d and others came to give him salām. The man addressed those present and criticised Sa`d. He said: this man did not help us against falsehood. Ṣa`d remained quiet. The man said: why are you quiet? He replied: when fights broke out, I said to my camel to stay put. The man said that I have read the Qur'ān from start to finish but did not find the idea of staying put in it. Sa`d became angry and said: you are saying this but I heard from Rasūl Allah ﷺ say that ḥaqq is with Alī and Alī is with ḥaqq, wherever he is. The man said that who else has heard this from the Prophet ﷺ? Sa`d replied: Rasūl Allah ﷺ said this in the house of Umm Salamah. Then it was confirmed from Umm Salamah that the Prophet ﷺ actually said those words. Then this man said that you are more blameworthy to me then before, had I heard that from the Prophet ﷺ I would have been a servant of Alī.

al-Haythamī comments about the Ḥadīth:

٣٢٨٢ قال الهيثمي : رواه البزار ، وفيه سعد بن شعيب ، ولم أعرفه ، وبقية رجاله رجال الصحيح

al-Haythamī said: it is reported by al-Bazzār amongt it reporters if sa`d ibn shuayb whom I do not know but other reporters are all ṣaḥīḥ.

al-Haythamī's student al-`Asqalānī says in Mukhtaṣar Zawā'id Musnad al-Bazzār:

سعدٌ غيرُ متروكٍ .

Sa`d is not a discarded narrator

This Ḥadīth about Imam Alī is on ḥaqq and ḥaqq is with Alī without this dialogue is reported in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, al-Ṭibranī and we have also cited it with a ṣaḥīh sanad in the first section from al-Ḥākim. However, the point here is that Sa`d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ was questioned by a rude and disrespectful man, who did not care that he was addressing a Ṣaḥābī from ashrah mubashshirah. When Sa`d ibn abī Waqqāṣ expresses his remorse that actually Alī was on ḥaqq as he heard it from the Prophet ﷺ, the rude man then sends someone to double check from Umm al-mu'minīn Umm Salamah. When confirmed, this cunning politician tries to further humiliate Sa`d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ and deceptively tries to gain a moral high ground over Sa`d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ. The point here is that Sa`d in front of everyone expressed his opinion that Alī was on Ḥaqq instead of trying to justify his abstention.

In conclusion to this section, it has been established from classical sunnī sources that prominent amongst ṣaḥābah, namely, Badrī ṣahābah were on the side of Imam Alī and others from bayah al-riḍwān, muhājirūn and Ansār were also with Imam Alī in large numbers. Those that remained at home and did not participate, later regretted their decision as can be inferred from the examples of famous ones amongst them. Had there been none with Imam Alī, it would not have altered the judgement of ḥaqq in favour of Imam Alī. The single example of `Ammār ibn Yāsir being killed by rebels is sufficient to arrive at the definitive judgement that Imam Alī was on truth and those fighting him were on falsehood. On a general outlook of supporters during the reigns of Imam Alī and mu`āwīyah ibn abī sufyān, the famous Tābi`ī al-`Amash comments as reported by al-Bukhārī in his al-Tārīkh al-Saghīr with an authentic sanad:

حدثني أبو عامر الأشعري ، ثنا ابن نمَير ، ثنا الأعْمَش ، قال :
والله تَعَجَّبْت لِعَلي وأصحابه أنَّه كان مع علي ، أصْحاب النبي ﷺ ،
وكان مع مُعاوية أعاريب اليمَن ، لَخْم ، وجِذَام وغيرهم من القَبَائل

al-`Amash said: I am pleasantly amazed at Alī and his companions. With Alī were the companions of the Prophet ﷺ and with Mu`āwīyah were the tribes of lakhm and jidhām from Yemeni bedouins and others from different tribes...

al-Ṭulaqā’

The earliest Ṣaḥābah in Islamic sources are termed as al-Sābiqūn al-Awwalūn and considered the most excellent. al-Ṭulaqā’ on the other hand are the ones that accepted Islam after the domination of Muslims at the conquest of Mecca in 8th year after Hijrah. Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān and `Amr ibn al-Ās were from Ṭulaqā’. About the relationship between earlier Muslims and Ṭulaqā’, it is reported in numerous sources such as al-Ṭibranī, Ibn Ḥibban, here it is quoted from Musnad of Imam Aḥmed Ibn Ḥanbal with two different chains and graded ṣaḥīh even by the salafī scholar Shu`ayb al-Arna’ūṭ:

١٩٢١٥- حدَّثنا وكيع، عن شَرِيك، عن عاصم، عن أبي وائل عن جرير قال: قال رسولُ الله ﷺ: «المُهَاجِرُونَ والأنصارُ أوْلِيَاءُ بَعْضُهُمْ لِبَعْضٍ، والطُّلَقاءُ من قُرَيشٍ والعُتقاءُ من ثَقِيفٍ بعضُهم أولياءُ بعضٍ إلى يوم القيامة»،

قال شريك: فحدَّثنا الأعمشُ، عن تميم بن سَلَمة، عن عبد الرحمٰن ابن هلال، عن جرير، عن النبيِّ ﷺ مِثْلَه(٢).

(٢) حديث صحيح،

Rasūl Allah ﷺ said: muhājirūn and anṣār are friends and helpers of each other and ṭulaqā’ of Quraysh and `utaqā from thaqīf are friends and helpers of each other until the day of judgement.

It is evident that in case of disputes ṭulaqā’ and muhājirūn would not find each other on the same side. Some modern day nawāṣib have attempted to prove that Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān had accepted Islam earlier and only declared it after the conquest of Mecca. In the interest of brevity, it would be sufficient to say that al-Asqalanī in his final analysis, and al-Aynī and al-Nawāwī have refuted such a notion. Since, al-Nawāwī is an ardent defender of Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān and has provided some of the far fecthed interpretations in his defence, it is only appropriate that his judgment is cited here. In his commentry on ṣaḥīh muslim, he says:

لأن معاوية لم يكن يومئذ مسلماً ، إنما

أسلم يوم الفتح سنة ثمان ، هذا هو الصحيح المشهور .

Mu`āwīyah became a Muslim at the conquest of Mecca in the 8th After Hijrah, and this is authentic and famous.

Also the Salafī scholar Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah in Zād al-Ma`ād confirms:

ولا خلاف أن أبا سفيان ومعاوية أسلما في فتح مكة سنة ثمان .

There is no difference of opinion that Abū Sufyān and Mu`āwīyah accepted Islam at the conquest of Mecca in the year 8th after Hijrah.

Imam Alī was the leader of one group and Mu`āwīyah was the leader of the other group and Rasūl Allah ﷺ had informed us that people from these two categories would find help and friends from their categories. Furthermore, when Rasūl Allah ﷺ peacefully conquered Mecca, He then addressed the Quraysh and said what do think I will do with you? They replied: You are kind and the son of kind. Rasūl Allah ﷺ said that go, you are free! This is reported by the earliest book of Sīrah in the history of Islam and it is also reported by numerous other sources such as Ibn Hishām, Abū Dā'ūd, Ibn Mājah, Musnad Aḥmed and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah's Zād al-M`ād:

اذهَبُوا فأنتُمُ الطُّلَقَاءُ»

Go you are ṭulaqā'/free

It was the norm in those days that prisoners of war were enslaved but Noble Prophet ﷺ was the most kind and spared them from being enslaved and instead emancipated them but indeed in status they cannot be compared with those who became Muslims earlier when the trials and tribulations were severe upon Muslims. Moreover, in his footnote to Izālah al-Khifā' of Shah Walī Allah Dehlavī, the translator Allama Abd al-Shakūr Farūqī Mujaddadī explains the term Ṭulaqā:

طلقاء جمع ہے طلیق کی اصل میں آزاد کئے ہوئے غلام کو کہتے ہیں مگر جو لوگ فتح مکہ میں اسلام لائے تھے چونکہ ان پر مسلمانوں نے احسان کیا اور غلام نہ بنایا اس لئے ان کے لئے بھی یہ لفظ بولا جاتا ہے اور یہاں اسی معنے میں ہے ۱۲

Ṭulaqā' is the plural of ṭalīq which means freed slaves, those who accepted Islam at the conquest of Mecca are also called ṭulaqā' because Muslims out of kindness spared them otherwise they would have been enlaved.

Ibn al-'Athīr explains in his famous work al-Nihāyah fī gharīb al-ḥadīth:

وفى حديث حُنين « خرجَ إليها ومعَه الطُّلَقاء » همُ الَّذين خَلّى عنهم يوم فتح مكة

In the ḥadīth about the battle of Ḥunayn "Rasūl Allah ﷺ went and also with him were al-ṭulaqā'" they are those who were spared at the conquest of Mecca.

Ibn Manzūr in Lisān al-Arab and al-Zabīdī in Tāj al-Urūs, with refernce to the classical grammarian Tha`lab, further shed light on the term. al-Zabīdī states:

وقالَ ثَعْلبٌ : الطُّلَقاءُ : الذين أُدْخِلُوا في الإسلامِ كُرْهاً .

Tha`lab said: al-ṭulaqā' are those who entered Islam reluctantly.

The great classical Ḥanafī Imam, Abū Bakr al-Jaṣṣāṣ states in his momentous work Aḥkām al-Qur'ān:

الله منتهين عن زواجره ونواهيه ولا يدخل معاوية فى هؤلاء لأن الله إنما وصف بذلك
المهاجرين الذين أخرجوا من ديارهم وليس معاوية من المهاجرين بل هو من الطلقاء

...and Mu`āwīyah is not amongst them because this attribute is for Muhājirūn who left their homes. Mu`āwīyah is not from Muhājirun but rather from al-Ṭulaqā'

Furthermore, Shah Walī Allah Muḥaddith al-Dehlavī, the common scholar of Barelwis and Deobandis in Izālah al-Khifāh states:

چوں ابوہریرۃؓ و ابودرداؓ از نزدیک حضرت مرتضیٰ برگشتند و ایشاں سپانجی بودند میان معاویہ و حضرت مرتضیٰ و معاویہ طلب مے کرد کہ خلافت بگذارد و شورٰے گرداند درمیان مسلمین فکان مما قال لهما عجباً منكما كيف جاز عليكما ما جئتما به تدعوان عليا ان يجعلها شورى وقد علمتما انه قد بايعه المهاجرون والانصار واهل الحجاز والعراق وان من رضيه خير ممن كرهه ومن بايعه خير ممن لم يبايعه واى مدخل لمعاوية فى الشورى وهو من الطلقاء الذين لا يجوز لهم الخلافة وهو وابوه رؤوس الاحزاب فندما على مسيرهما وتابا بين يديه اخرجه ابو عمر فى الاستيعاب وازلوازم خلافت خاصہ آں

کہ حضرت ابوہریرہؓ اور حضرت ابوالدرداؓ (جو حضرت معاویہؓ کی طرف سے حضرت علیؓ کے پاس یہ پیغام لے گئے تھے کہ خلافت کو چھوڑ دو اور اُس کو مسلمانوں کے شوریٰ پر دائر کر دو) حضرت علیؓ کے پاس سے (پیغام پہنچا کر) لوٹے (اور مقام حمص میں جو مسکن حضرت عبدالرحمٰن بن غنم اشعری کا تھا پہنچے) تو حضرت عبدالرحمٰنؓ نے اُن سے منجملہ اور باتوں کے یہ بھی کہا کہ تم دونوں سے تعجب ہے کہ کیونکر تم سے یہ پیغام جو تم لائے تھے (حضرت علیؓ کے سامنے) ادا ہوا تم نے علیؓ کو یہ ترغیب دی کہ خلافت کو شوریٰ پر دائر کر دیں حالانکہ تم جانتے ہو کہ مہاجرین اور انصار اور اہلِ حجاز اور اہلِ عراق نے علیؓ سے بیعت کر لی ہے اور بیشک جو لوگ علیؓ (کی خلافت) سے راضی ہو گئے وہ اُن لوگوں سے افضل ہیں جو علیؓ (کی خلافت) سے ناخوش ہیں اور جن لوگوں نے علیؓ سے بیعت کر لی ہے وہ اُن لوگوں سے افضل ہیں جنھوں نے ان سے بیعت نہیں کی اور معاویہ کو شوریٰ قائم ہونے سے کیا فائدہ کیونکہ (شوریٰ سے خلافت ملے گی تو مہاجرین میں سے کسی کو ملے گی اور) معاویہ (مہاجرین میں سے نہیں ہیں بلکہ) طلقا میں سے ہیں جن کو خلافت (خاصّہ) حاصل نہیں ہو سکتی بلکہ معاویہ اور اُن کے والد غزوۂ احزاب (میں کافروں) کے سردار تھے (عبدالرحمٰن بن غنم کا یہ کلام سُن کر) ابوہریرہؓ اور ابوالدرداؓ اپنے آنے پر نادم ہوئے اور عبدالرحمٰن بن غنم کے سامنے (اپنے اس فعل) سے توبہ کی ابوعمرؓ نے استیعاب میں اس کو روایت

Ḥaḍrat Abū al-Dardā' and Ḥaḍrat Abū Hurayrah took the message of Ḥaḍrat Mu`āwīyah to Ḥaḍrat Alī that he should abdicate from khilāfah and pass the decision for khilāfah to shūrah of muslims. On their way back after delievering the message when they reached Ḥoms; where Ḥaḍrat `Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ghanam resided. So Abd al-Raḥman amongst other things said to them: I am surprised that how could you take the message to Alī? You asked Alī to pass the matter of khilāfah to shūrah whilst you know that Muhājirūn, Anṣār, ahl al-Ḥijāz, ahl al-Irāq paid their allegiance to Alī for Khilāfah and indeed those who assented to the caliphate of Alī are greater than those who raise objections. Those who did bayah of Alī are superior to those who did not. What would mu`awīyha gain from appointing a shūrah? Becaue Khilāfah can only be given to Muhājirūn and Mu`āwīyah is not from Muhājirūn but from Ṭulāqā' and it is not allowed that ṭulaqā' should be made the caliphs. Mu`āwīyah and his father were the leaders of the army at the battle of al-Aḥzāb who came to fight Muslims. After hearing these words of the

Abd al-Raḥmān, both, Abū Hurayrah and Abū Dardā’ did tawbah in front of Abd al-Raḥmān. It is reported by Abū Umar in al-Istī`āb..

Furthermore, Shāh Walī Allah al-Dihlawī comments:

رضينا ولم يكن الا ذلك
فلما رأينا الاكثرة انكرنا الى
آخر ما قال و قول عبد الرحمن بن
غنم الاشعري لابي هريرة وابي الدرداء
واي مدخل لمعاوية في الشورى
وهو من الطلقاء الذين لا تجوز لهم
الخلافة وهو وابوه رؤس الاحزاب
فندما على مسيرهما وتابا بين يديه
و ازینجا معلوم شد که ابو درداء و ابو هریره
آخرا بقول عبد الرحمن بن غنم رجوع کردند۔
و حديث جرير بن عبد الله مرفوعا المهاجرون
والانصار اولياء بعضهم لبعض و
الطلقاء من قريش والعتقاء من
ثقيف بعضهم اولياء بعض

عبد الرحمٰن بن غنم اشعریؓ نے حضرت ابو ہریرہؓ اور حضرت
ابو الدرداءؓ سے کہا تھا کہ (آپ لوگ حضرت معاویہؓ
کی طرف سے حضرت علیؓ کو شوریٰ کا پیغام دینے کیوں
آئے؟) معاویہؓ کو شوریٰ میں کیا دخل ہے؟ معاویہؓ
تو طلقاء میں سے ہیں جن کے لئے خلافت ہو ہی نہیں
سکتی وہ اور ان کے والد دونوں سرداران احزاب میں
میں تھے۔ یہ سنکر حضرت ابو ہریرہؓ اور حضرت ابو الدرداءؓ
اپنے آنے پر نادم ہوئے اور دونوں نے حضرت عبد الرحمٰن
کے سامنے توبہ کی۔ یہاں سے معلوم ہوا کہ حضرت
ابو الدرداءؓ اور حضرت ابو ہریرہؓ نے بالآخر حضرت
عبد الرحمٰنؓ کے قول کی طرف رجوع کیا۔ اور جریر بن
عبد اللہ کی مرفوع حدیث ہے کہ مہاجرین و انصار باہم
ایک دوسرے کے ولی (دوست اور مددگار ہیں) اور قریش
کے طلقاء اور ثقیف کے عتقاء باہم ایک دوسرے کے ولی ہیں

لے یعنے غزوۂ احزاب میں جو کافر لڑنے کے لئے آئے ان کے سرداروں میں سے تھے۔

الى يوم القيمة واز ادل دلائل مدعا قول
حضرت مرتضى است كه چندين مرة
بطرف اهل شام نوشت كه امر خلافت
مفوض است بمهاجرين و انصار و ديگرا
دراں دخل و عقد آن مدخل نه چوں ايشاں
بيعت كنند ديگراں را مجال خلاف نماند۔

قیامت تک (یونہی رہے گا) اور اس بات کی ایک عمدہ دلیل
حضرت مرتضیٰ کا یہ قول ہے جو انھوں نے کئی بار اہل شام کو
لکھا کہ خلافت کا معاملہ مہاجرین و انصار کے اختیار میں ہے
کسی دوسرے کو منعقد کرنے ذکرنے میں کچھ دخل نہیں جب
مہاجرین و انصار نے (کسی کے ہاتھ پر) بیعت کر لی (تو
وہ خلیفہ ہو گیا) دوسروں کو مخالفت کی گنجائش نہیں ہے۔

Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ghanam Ash`arī told Ḥaḍrat Abū Hurayrah and Haḍrat abū ḍarda’that why did you take the message to Ḥaḍrat Alī about shūrah. What has mu`awīyah got anything to do with shūrah? Mu`awīyah is from ṭulaqā’ who are absolutely not eligible for khilāfah, mu`āwīyah and his father were the leaders of the oppostion at the battle of al-Aḥzāb against the Muslims. After hearing this Haḍrat Abū Hurayrah and Ḥaḍrat Abū al-Dardā’ regretted their actions and did tawbah in front of Ḥaḍrat Abd al-Raḥmān. It is evident that both retracted from their position. And the Ḥadīth Marfū`of Jarīr ibn Abdullah that Muhajirūn and Anṣār are friends and helpers of each other and Ṭulaqā’ of Quraysh and `Utaqā’ of Thaqīf are friends and helpers of each other. And this will remain until the day of judgement. And brilliant evidence of this are the statements of Ḥaḍrat Murtaḍā’ Alī which he wrote to the shāmīs that the matter of caliphate is for Muhājirūn and Anṣār and others do not have anything to do with it. Whomever the Muhājirūn and Anṣār pay their allegiance to becomes a Caliph and others cannot oppose it.

It is an intellectual tragedy of the time that people refer to Imam Alī ibn Abī Ṭalib and Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān as if they were equals whereas there are galaxies between the status of Imam Alī and Mu`āwīyah. Umar al-Fārūq explains the matter of khilāfah and ṭulāqā’ towards the

end of his life. It is stated by al-Ubayī al-Mālikī's commentry on Ṣaḥīh Muslim Ikmāl Ikmāl al-Mu`lim and by al-Sanūsī al-Mālikī's Mukammal Ikmāl al-Ikmāl and Shabbīr Aḥmed Usmanī's Fatḥ al-Mulhim. Here from al-Ubayī al al-Mālikī:

نزلت على رغم أنف قريش وتطاول عمرو بن العاصي للشورى فقال له عمر اطمئن كما وضعك الله
والله لا جعلت فيها أحدا حمل السلاح على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وقال مرة ان الأمر لا يصلح
للطلقاء ولا لابناء الطلقاء ولو استقبلت من أمري ما استدبرت ما جعلت ليزيد بن أبي سفيان ومعاوية بن

أبي سفيان ولاية الشام

> `Amr ibn al-Āṣ wished to be included in the shūrā' so Umar said: Stay put in your place where Allah has kept you. By God! I will not include a person in this matter who took up arms in opposition to Rasūl Allah ﷺ and he also said that ṭulaqā' and the children of ṭulaqā' do not deserve to rule and had it become clear to me before, I would never have given the governorship of shām to Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān and Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān.

Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭab had repeatedly emphasised this idea that ṭulaqā' are not allowed to participate in the affairs of Khilafah. Moreover, here are a couple of other reports from Umar al-Farūq. Ibn Ḥajr al-`Asqalānī states in Fatḥ al-Barī and al-Iṣābah, respectively:

فأخرجه ابن سعد من طريق عبد الرحمن ابن أبزى عن عمر قال هذا الامر فى أهل بدر ما بقى منهم أحد ، ثم فى

أهل أحد . ثم فى كذا ، وليس فيها لطليق ولا لمسلمة الفتح شىء

> Umar said that this matter of caliphate is for badrī ṣaḥābah and then those from uḥud and so on, and not for ṭulaqā' and those who became muslims at conquest of Mecca.

ويقال: إن عمر قال لأهل الشّورى: لا تختلفوا؛ فإنكم إن اختلفتم جاءكم معاوية من
الشام، وعبد الله بن أبي ربيعة من اليمن، فلا يريان لكم فضلاً لسابقتكم، وإن هذا الأمر لا
يصلح للطلقاء(١)، ولا لأبناء الطلقاء(٢).

> Umar said to the people of shūrā: do not disgaree among your selves and if you disagree and mu`āwīyah comes to you from shām and Abdullah ibn abī rabī`ah from Yemen, those two will not respect you for being early Muslims and this matter of caliphate is neither for ṭulaqā' nor for their offspring.

It is evident that Umar al-Fārūq towards the end of his life regretted his decision of handing the governorship to ṭulaqā'. Had he not been killed prematurely by Abu Lū'lū, the slave of al-Mughīrah ibn Shu`bah, he would have enacted upon his realisation by deposing Mu`awīyah. Imam Alī's order of dismissing Mu`āwīyah was in line with the realisation of Umar al-Fārūq. The point here is that it is inconsiderate, unfair and bias to somehow treat Imam Alī and Mu`āwīyah as having equal say in the matter of Muslims. It is also mutāwātir from Rasūl Allah ﷺ that Alī's status in relation to the Noble Prophet ﷺ is like the status of Ḥārūn ع to Mūsā ع except that there will no be

no prophet after Rasūl Allah ﷺ. Furthermore, Ibn Ṣalaḥ in his Ṣīyānah Ṣaḥīh Muslim, al-Ḥākim in his Ma`rifah `ulūm al-Ḥadīth and al-Sakhāwī in his al-Maqāṣid, authenticate the following ḥadīth:

أَمَرَنا رسولُ الله ﷺ أَنْ نُنزِلَ النّاسَ مَنازِلَهم

Rasūl Allah ﷺ commanded us to give people their due status.

Yet here we have Nawāṣib equating Mu`āwīyah ibn abī sufyān with Ḥayder al-Karrār by characterising their difference as if it was amongst equals. In the preceding discussion it has become clear that Mu`āwīyha belonged to the last category of Ṣaḥābah and was absolutely in the wrong in his claims in opposition to Imam Alī. It is a common erroneous practice of some zealots that they apply the verses of the Qur'ān and statements of Rasūl Allah ﷺ addressed to the ealier Ṣaḥābah to the Ṭulaqā'. Consider the attitude of the Blessed Prophet ﷺ about those who became Muslims later. It is reported, for example, in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim:

٢٢٢- (٢٥٤١) حَدَّثَنَا عُثْمَانُ بْنُ أَبِي شَيْبَةَ.
حَدَّثَنَا جَرِيرٌ عَنِ الأَعْمَشِ، عَنْ أَبِي صَالِحٍ، عَنْ
أَبِي سَعِيدٍ، قَالَ: كَانَ بَيْنَ خَالِدِ بْنِ الْوَلِيدِ وَبَيْنَ
عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ عَوْفٍ شَيْءٌ، فَسَبَّهُ خَالِدٌ، فَقَالَ
رَسُولُ اللهِ ﷺ: «لَا تَسُبُّوا أَحَدًا مِنْ أَصْحَابِي،
فَإِنَّ أَحَدَكُمْ لَوْ أَنْفَقَ مِثْلَ أُحُدٍ ذَهَبًا، مَا أَدْرَكَ مُدَّ
أَحَدِهِمْ وَلَا نَصِيفَهُ». [خ٣٦٧٣].

Abu Sa'id reported there was some altercation between Khalid b. Walid and Abd al-Rahman b. 'Auf and Khalid reviled him. Thereupon Allah's Messwger (ﷺ) said:

None should revile my Companions. for if one amongst you were to spend as much gold as Uhud, it would not amount to as much as one mudd of one of them or half of it.

Khālid ibn Walīd became a Muslim after the treaty of Ḥudaybīyah which is earlier than the Ṭulaqā' yet observe the attitude of Rasūl Allah ﷺ Who ﷺ addresses Khālid ibn Walīd that do not revile My ﷺ Ṣaḥābah, making a clear distinction between the earlier Muslims and those who accepted Islam later. In his commentry on Musnad of Imam Aḥmed, Shu`ayb al-Arnaūṭ states:

وقال الشيخ تقي الدين السبكي: الظاهر أن المراد بقوله: «أصحابي» من أسلم
قبل الفتح، وأنه خطاب لمن أسلم بعد الفتح، ويرشد إليه آخر الحديث مع قوله
تعالى: ﴿لا يَسْتَوِي مِنْكُمْ مَنْ أَنْفَقَ مِنْ قَبْلِ الْفَتْحِ وَقَاتَلَ...﴾ الآية

al-Shaykh Tāqī al-Dīn al-Subkī said that it is apparent that My Ṣaḥābī here means those who accepted Islam prior to th conquest of Mecca and Rasūl Allah ﷺ is addressing those who accpted Islam after the conquest of Mecca.

Ibn Ḥajr al-`Asqalānī in Fatḥ al-Bārī says:

المراد بقوله أولا ، أصحابي ، أصحاب مخصوصون ، وإلا فالخطاب كان للصحابة

The meaning of 'My ṣaḥābah' here are the special ṣaḥābah otherwise what does it mean to address other ṣaḥābah about ṣaḥābah..

The Salafī Wahābī favourite Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah says:

قال: سمعت أبا صالح يحدث عن أبي سعيد قال: قال رسول الله ﷺ: «لا تسبُّوا أصحابي، فلو أن أحدكم أنفق مثل أحد ذهباً ما بلغ مدَّ أحدهم ولا نَصِيفه»(١)، وفي لفظ: «فوالذي نفسي بيده»(٢)، وهذا خطاب منه لخالد بن الوليد ولأقرانه من مُسلمة الفتح والحديبية(٣)، فإذا كان مد أحد أصحابه أو نصيفه(٤) أفضل عند الله

من مثل أحد ذهباً من مثل خالد وأضرابه من الصحابة

Rasūl Allah ﷺ said that do not revile my ṣaḥābah, by God in whose control is my life, even if you spend Uḥud mountain's weight in gold, it will not be equal to mudd (one kilo) nor half of that; which they had spent in the way of Allah. This was addressed to Khālid ibn al-Walīd and his contemporaries from Muslims of conquest of Mecca and Ḥudaybīyah. And the value of a mudd (kilo) or its half is greater in the sight of God than Uḥud mountain's weight spent by Khalid and his like from other Ṣaḥābah.

Imam Alī is greater than `abd al-Raḥmān ibn Awf by all counts and Khālid ibn al-Walīd is greater than Mu`āwīyh ibn Abī Sufyān by all counts then imagine the distance between Imam Alī and Mu`āwīyah, and what would have been the ruling of Rasūl Allah ﷺ about Mu`āwīyah. Fighting is worse than reviling. The word My Ṣaḥābah as in the Ṣaḥīh Ḥadīth used in its absolute meaning of the word and its connotation as expressed by Rasūl Allah ﷺ was applied to the earlier Ṣaḥābah. Yet we have the mullah-brigade in our times who apply the same texts about earlier Ṣaḥābah to also suggest that as if it was also applied to Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān! Furthermore, Ibn Abī al-`Izz al-Ḥanafī (d. 792) explains the ranks amongst Ṣaḥābah with respect to aforementioned Ḥadīth in his Sharḥ al-Ṭaḥāwīyah:

عبد الرحمن وأمثاله ، لأن عبد الرحمن ونحوه هم السابقون الأولون ، وهم
الذين أسلموا من قبل الفتح وقاتلوا ، وهم أهل بيعة الرّضوان ، فهم أفضل
وأخصّ بصحبته ممن أسلم بعد بيعة الرضوان ، وهم الذين أسلموا بعد
الحديبية ، وبعد مصالحة النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم أهل مكة ، ومنهم خالد بن
الوليد ، وهؤلاء أسبق ممن تأخر إسلامهم إلى فتح مكة ، وسموا الطلقاء ،
منهم أبو سفيان وابناه يزيد ومعاوية . والمقصود أنه نهى من له صحبة أخرى
أن يسب من له صحبة أولى ، لامتيازهم عنهم من الصحبة بما لا يمكن أن

يشركوهم فيه

From the address of the Prophet ﷺ here are meant Abd al-Raḥmān and those like him because Abd al-Raḥmān and those like him are from the category of al-Sābiqūn al-Awwalūn and they are those who became Muslims before the conquest of Mecca and fought in the way of Allah, they are the ones who are the Ṣaḥabah of bayah of al-Riḍwān and they have special companionship compared to those who accepted Islam after bayah of al-Riḍwān; and they are the ones who accepted Islam after the treaty of Ḥudaybīyah between Rasūl Allah ﷺ and the people of Mecca and amongst them are Khalid ibn al-Walīd, they are earlier than those who accepted Islam at the conquest of Mecca, who are known as al-Ṭulaqā' such as Abū Sufyān and his sons Yazīd and Mu`āwīyah. The import here is that those who became Ṣaḥābī later are reprimanded not to object to and revile those who are early Ṣaḥābah due to their distinction of being special Ṣaḥābah for which there is an impossibility for the later ones to attain such acompanionship.

The ardent supporters of Ṭulaqā' at the expense of the early Ṣaḥābah should take heed from this that they defend the crimes and mistakes of Ṭulaqā' and render them as if they were on equal footing with Imam Alī. By justifying the injustices of Ṭulaqā' about whom there is not a single Ṣaḥīḥ Ḥadīth in their praise, they assign the excellences of al-Sābiqūn al-Awwalūn in the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth, by a sleight of hand, to al-Ṭulaqā'. It is clear that even Khālid ibn al-Walīd was reprimanded and told by the Noble Prophet ﷺ that even if you do as much goodness as the weight of a mountain, in the eyes of God it would be equal to half a kilo of effort done by the special Ṣahābah. By all counts, Khalid ibn al-Walīd is much superior to Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyan so imagine Mu`āwīyah ibn abī sufyān's comparison with Imam Alī who is the best of early Muslims.

The prominent Deobandi scholar Allamah Qāsim Nanotvī was asked a question about Mu`āwīyah, he replied in his anwār al-nujūm:

اور پھر ہم امیر معاویہ رضی اللہ عنہ کو جلیل القدر صحابہ میں شمار نہیں کرتے ہیں

An we do not consider Amīr Mu`āwīyah radī Allah anhu among jalīl al-qadr Ṣaḥābah.

So, he says we do not think he was a Ṣaḥābī of a significant rank. In light of the foregoing, fairly and reasonably contemplate, how is it possible to apply the statement of the Noble Prophet ﷺ do not revile My Ṣaḥābah to the Ṭulaqā'? If those who became Muslims after Ḥudaybīyah are not even worth half a kilo of the deeds of earlier ones then what about those who became Muslims later at Fatḥ Mecca? They would be, perhaps, not worth half a kilo of the deeds of those who became

Muslims after Ḥudaybīyah let alone dealing with their differences on parity with Imam Alī. However, this is about the ranks among Ṣaḥābah, i.e., there were special Ṣaḥābah and there are ṣaḥābah from ṭulaqā’. The comparison and distance between them is that of half a kilo to the weight of a mountain and this is the case with Imam Alī and Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān.

In conlcusion to this section, it has been established from sound evidences that Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān belonged to the last category of Ṣaḥābah known as al-Ṭulaqā’ and it is factually incorrect to ascribe the excellences and qualities of the early Ṣaḥābah upon the Ṭulaqā’ as the nawāṣib project.

Faḍā’il of Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān

It is also a trend to enumerate and state the specific qualities and excellences of Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān from the sayings of Rasūl Allah ﷺ in order to give an impression of his lofty status amongst the Ṣaḥābah. The masters of Ḥadīth sciences have unequivocally explicated in their works that there is not a single Ṣaḥīh Ḥadīth in praise of Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān. The prolific author Allama Shiblī N`umānī, the teacher of Sayyid Salman Nadvī, in his scholarly book Sīrat al-Nabī ﷺ truthfully explains:

'حدیثوں کی تدوین بنوامیہ کے زمانہ میں

ہوئی جنھوں نے پورے ۹۰ برس تک سندھ سے ایشیائے کوچک اور اندلس تک مساجد جامع میں آل فاطمہ کی توہین کی اور

جمعہ میں سر منبر حضرت علیؓ پر لعن کہلوایا' سیکڑوں ہزاروں حدیثیں امیر معاویہ وغیرہ کے فضائل میں بنوائیں'

The process of recording the ḥadīth began in the times of Umayyads who for ninety years, from Sindh to Turkey, to Spain in their Mosques reviled the children of Fāṭimah and on Fridays, upon their pulpits cursed Ḥaḍrat Alī and fabricated hundreds and thousands of ḥadīth in praise of amīr mu`āwīyah and others.

It was the methodology of the propagandists that in order to glorify themselves, they operated in two ways: fabricate Ḥadīth in praise of Mu`āwīyah and disparage Imam Alī. This fraudulent scheme was designed to compensate for the lack of mu`āwīyah’s significance among Ṣaḥābah and raise his religious standing to belittle Imam Alī. The idea here is that if Alī has these excellences then look here Mu`awīyah also has those merits. The tradition of cursing by Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān requires a separate study, *in-shā’-Allah,* but in this limited space, we will only utilize sufficient material to support a particular point. It is reported in Ṣaḥīh Muslim that mu`āwīyah **ordered** S`ad ibn Abī Waqqāṣ to revile Imam Alī, here is another example authentically stated by Ibn Abī `Āṣim (d.287) in his kitāb al-sunnah:

١٣٥٠ ـ حدثنا محمد بن موسى الشامي، حدثنا يزيد بن مهران الخباز، ثنا أبو بكر
ابن عياش،عن الأجلح، عن حبيب بن أبي ثابت عن عبد الرحمن بن البيلماني قال:
كنا عند معاوية فقام رجل فسب علي بن أبي طالب رضي الله عنه وسب وسب فقام
سعيد بن زيد بن عمرو بن نفيل، فقال: يا معاوية ألا أرى يسب علي بين يديك ولا
تغير فإني سمعت رسول الله ﴿ﷺ﴾ يقول:
هو مني بمنزلة هارون من موسى.

People were gathered in the court of Mu`āwīyah and a man stood up and started to revile Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (raḍī Allah anhu) and he cursed and he cursed then Sa`īd ibn Zayd ibn `Amr ibn Nufayl stood up and said: O Mu`āwīyah! Do I not see that in front of you Alī is being cursed and you are not stopping it. I have heard Rasūl Allah ﷺ say that the status of Alī to Me is like that of Harūn to Mūsa.

The practice of cursing Imam Alī was instituitionalised to demean his eminence and status for the aforementioned reasons. Furthermore, a snapshot of the Umayyad policies can be gauged from the following. Among the famous uṣūl al-ḥadīth books is tadrīb al-rāwī by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī in which he states:

قال أبو عبد الرحمن المقرىء: كانت بنو أمية إذا سمعوا بمولود اسمه عَلِيّ قتلوه،

Abū `abd al-Raḥmān al-Muqrī said: when Umayyads discovered a baby named Ali, they used to kill him.

The ***climate of fear*** in the Umayyad dynasty towards the love of Imam Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib can be further highlighted by the actual change of name from Alī to its diminutive. al-Dhahabī in his sīyar ā`lām al-nubalā' states:

عُلَي بن رباح بن قصير بن قشيب بن يثيع، الثقة العالم،
واسمه: عَلِيٌّ، وإنما صُغِّر. فقال أبو عبد الرحمن المُقرئ: كانت بنو
أمية إذا سمعوا بمولود اسمه علي، قتلوه، فبلغ ذلك رَباحاً، فقال:
هو عُلَيٌّ.
قلت: عُلَي بن رباح ولد في صدر خلافة عُثمان، فلعله غيِّر
وهو شاب، له وفادة على معاوية، وكان من أشراف العرب.

`Ulayī ibn Ribāḥ ibn Quṣayr..the trustworthy scholar, his name is `ulayī which is diminutive noun of Alī. al-Muqrī said that when Umayyads discovered a baby named Alī, they used to kill him. This reached Ribāḥ, the father of Ulayī, so he changed the name of his son to `Ulayī. Dhahabī says: Ulayī ibn Ribāḥ was born during early days of Uthmān's caliphate and perhaps this name change was done when he was a youngster. He was a guest of Mu`āwīyah and from the noblemen of arabs.

Even during Ḥajj the tremors of such anti-Alī policies were felt. Abdullah Ibn Abbās during Ḥajj witnessed the following. It is reported by al-Nasā'ī in his Sunan with a Ṣaḥīh chain as vouched for by the Wahābī scholar al-Albānī:

٣٠٠٦–(صحيح الإسناد) أَخْبَرَنَا أَحْمَدُ بْنُ عُثْمَانَ بْنِ حَكِيمٍ الأَوْدِيُّ قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا خَالِدُ بْنُ مَخْلَدٍ قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا عَلِيُّ بْنُ صَالِحٍ عَنْ مَيْسَرَةَ بْنِ حَبِيبٍ عَنِ الْمِنْهَالِ بْنِ عَمْرٍو عَنْ سَعِيدِ بْنِ جُبَيْرٍ قَالَ.

كُنْتُ مَعَ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ بِعَرَفَاتٍ فَقَالَ مَا لِي لاَ أَسْمَعُ النَّاسَ يُلَبُّونَ قُلْتُ يَخَافُونَ مِنْ مُعَاوِيَةَ فَخَرَجَ ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ مِنْ فُسْطَاطِهِ فَقَالَ لَبَّيْكَ اللَّهُمَّ لَبَّيْكَ لَبَّيْكَ فَإِنَّهُمْ قَدْ تَرَكُوا السُّنَّةَ مِنْ بُغْضِ عَلِيٍّ.

Sa`īd ibn Jubayr said that I was with Ibn Abbās at `Arafāt and He said to me: why can't I hear people doing Talbīyah? I said: they are scared of Mu`āwīyah. Then Ibn Abbās went out and said: 'I respond to your call, Oh Allah, I respond to your call, they abandon the Sunnah for their hatred of Alī.

In Ṣaḥīh al-Bukhāri, we find Abdullah Ibn Umar had to remain quiet out of fear whilst his father, Umar al-Fārūq, was being insulted by Mu`āwīyah. Though, Ibn Umar expresses his opinion, privately, afterwards:

4108. Narrated 'Ikrima bin Khālid: Ibn 'Umar said, "I went to Ḥafṣa while water was dribbling from her twined braids. I said, 'The condition of the people is as you see,[1] and no authority has been given to me.' Ḥafṣa said, (to me), 'Go to them, and as they (i.e., the people) are waiting for you, and I am afraid your absence from them will produce division amongst them.'" So Ḥafṣa did not leave Ibn 'Umar till we went to them. When the people differed, Mu'āwiya addressed the people saying, "If anybody wants to say anything in this matter of the caliphate, he should show up and not conceal himself, for we are more rightful to be a caliph than he and his father." On that, Ḥabīb bin Maslama said (to Ibn 'Umar), "Why don't you reply to him (i.e., Mu'āwiya)?" 'Abdullāh bin 'Umar

٤١٠٨ - حدَّثني إبْرَاهِيمُ بن مُوسَى: أخبرَنا هِشامٌ، عَنْ مَعْمَرٍ، عَنِ الزُّهْرِيِّ، عَنْ سالمٍ، عَنِ ابنِ عُمَرَ، قالَ: وأَخْبرَني ابْنُ طاوسٍ، عَنْ عِكْرِمَةَ بنِ خالِدٍ، عَنِ ابنِ عُمَرَ قالَ: دَخَلْتُ عَلى حَفْصَةَ وَنَسْوَاتُها تَنْطُف، قُلْتُ: قَدْ كانَ مِنْ أَمْرِ النَّاسِ ما تَرَيْنَ، فَلَمْ يُجْعَلْ لي مِنَ الأَمْرِ شَيءٌ، فَقالَت: الْحَقْ فإنَّهُمْ يَنْتَظِرونَك وأَخْشَى أَنْ يَكُونَ في احْتِباسِكَ عَنْهُمْ فُرْقَةٌ. فَلَمْ تَدَعْهُ حتَّى ذَهَبَ. فَلَمَّا تَفَرَّقَ النَّاسُ خَطَبَ مُعاوِيَةُ، قالَ: مَنْ

said, "I untied my garment that was going round my back and legs while I was sitting and was about to say, 'He who fought against you and against your father[1] for the sake of Islām, is more rightful to be a caliph,' but I was afraid that my statement might produce differences amongst the people and cause bloodshed, and my statement might be interpreted not as I intended. (So I kept quiet) remembering what Allāh has prepared in the Gardens of Paradise (for those who are patient and prefer the Hereafter to this worldly life)." Ḥabīb said, "You did what kept you safe and secure (i.e., you were wise in doing so)."

كانَ يُرِيدُ أَنْ يَتَكَلَّمَ فِي هذَا الأَمْرِ فَلْيُطْلِعْ لَنَا قَرْنَهُ، فَلَنَحْنُ أَحَقُّ بِهِ مِنْهُ وَمِنْ أَبِيهِ. قَالَ حَبِيبُ بْنُ مَسْلَمَةَ: فَهلَّا أَجَبْتَهُ؟ قَالَ عَبْدُ اللهِ: فَحَلَلْتُ حَبْوَتِي وَهَمَمْتُ أَنْ أَقُولَ: أَحَقُّ بِهٰذَا الأَمْرِ مِنْكَ مَنْ قَاتَلَكَ وَأَبَاكَ عَلَى الإِسْلَامِ، فَخَشِيتُ أَنْ أَقُولَ كَلِمَةً تُفَرِّقُ بَيْنَ الجَمْعِ وَتَسْفِكُ الدَّمَ، وَيُحْمَلُ عَنِّي غَيْرُ ذٰلِكَ، فَذَكَرْتُ مَا أَعَدَّ اللهُ فِي الجِنَانِ. قَالَ حَبِيبٌ: حُفِظْتَ وَعُصِمْتَ. قَالَ مَحْمُودٌ، عَنْ عَبْدِ الرَّزَّاقِ: وَنَوْسَاتُهَا.

It is obvious that Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān considered himself better than`Umar al-Fārūq and out of fear Ibn Umar kept quiet though expressed his response privately, later. Badr al-Dīn al-Aynī al-Ḥanafī in his Umdah al-Qārī commentary on Ṣaḥīh al-Bukhārī explains:

قوله «احق به» اى بامر الخلافة قوله «منه» اى من عبدالله ومن ابيه اى ومن اب عبدالله وهو عمر بن الخطاب

Mu`āwīyah's statement that I am more deserving of caliphate then you and your father means Abdullah ibn Umar and his Father Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.

Badr al-Dīn al-Aynī al-Ḥanafī further explains the Ḥadīth:

اذا جمع الرجل ظهره وساقيه بعمامته قوله «من قاتلك» يخاطب به معاوية قوله «واباك» اراد به اباسفيان والد
معاوية فان عليا رضى الله تعالى عنه قاتل معاوية ووالده اباسفيان يوم احد ويوم الخندق وهما كانا كافرين فى ذلك
الوقت وانما اسلما يوم الفتح قوله «ويحمل عنى غير ذلك» اى على غير ما اردت قوله «فذكرت ما اعد الله فى الجنان»

When Ibn Umar said he who fought you and your father is more deserving of the caliphate, he means Alī who fought Mu`āwīyah and his father Abū Sufyān at Uḥud and al-Khandaq whilst they were kāfirs because both became Muslims at the conquest of Mecca..

Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān also considered himself greater for the role of caliphate then Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and Ibn Umar could not respond to him due to fear. To speak the truth in front of Mu`āwīyah was difficult for prominent Ṣaḥābah and Tābi`īn. Once Umar al-Fārūq said something negative about the tribe of Banu Tamīm and Aḥnaf ibn Qays stood up and corrected Umar al-Fārūq, to which the great Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb apologised. See Ṭabaqāt of Ibn Sa`d, Tārīkh of Ibn `Asākir, Tārīkh and Sīyar of al-Dhahabī with respect to Aḥnaf ibn Qays's biography. But what about the same Aḥnaf ibn Qays in the company of Mu`āwīyah. See Ṭabaqāt of Ibn Sa`d, al-Muntaẓam of Ibn al-Jawzī, Tahdhīb al-Kamāl of al-Mizzī and three books Tarīkh, Sīyar and Tadhhīb Tahdhīb al-Kamāl of al-Dhahabī. Here from the latter:

وقال الحسن : تكلموا عند معاوية والأحنف ساكت ، فقال معاوية :
تكلم يا أبا بحر . فقال : أخاف الله إن كذبت ، وأخافكم إن صدقت .

al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī said: people talked about a certain matter in front of Mu`āwīyah but Aḥnaf remained silent. Mu`āwīyah said: Speak O Abū Baḥr. He replied: I fear Allah if I lie and I fear you if I speak the truth!

This sentiment of unjust rule by Mu`āwīyah is echoed explicitly by the famous classic Ḥanafī text of fiqh al-Hidāyah taught in darsi Niẓāmī:

على ربه فيلهم[٤]. ثم يجوز[٥] التقلد من السلطان الجائر كما يجوز من العادل ؛ لأن
الصحابة[٦] تقلدوا من معاوية[٧]، والحق كان بيد علي رضي الله عنه في نوبته[٨]،
والتابعين تقلدوا[٩] من الحجاج[١٠]

It is permissible to be appointed as a judge under a tyrant ruler as it is allowed under a just ruler because Ṣaḥābah became judges under Mu`āwīyah whilst the truth was with Alī (raḍi Allah anhu) and the tābi`īn were appointed judges under al-Ḥajjāj...

Therefore, the Ḥanafī juridical view is explicit about the oppression of Mu`āwīyah to the extent that al-Marghinānī al-Ḥanafī equates it with, the abhorrent, al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yusuf's rule. Further discussion in this regard from the rulings of prominent ahl al-Sunnah Imams will be presented towards the end of this document. However, about the famous Ḥadīth which says that upon you is My ﷺ way and the way of Rightly Guided/al-Khulafā' al-Rāshidūn. The question is, how do we know who are the Khulafā' Rashidūn? Why do ahl al-Sunnah believe that from Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq to Imam Ḥasan al-Mujtabā' are the Rashidūn Caliphs? There are many indications for this being the case but at first instance, it is restricted to these five noble personalities by another Ṣaḥīḥ Ḥadīth. We will cite it here from one of the prominent apologists for the Umayyad camp, namely, Ibn Kathīr. In this article, by design, al-Dhahabī and Ibn Kathīr, the taymī'ites, are quoted as they at times go to great lengths in the defence of the Umayyads. Moreover, the limit of thirty years for Rāshidūn Caliphate is from the following Ṣaḥīḥ Ḥadīth. Ibn Kathīr states in his al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah:

قلت : والسنة أن يقال لمعاوية ملك ، ولا يقال له خليفة لحديث « سفينة
الخلافة بعدي ثلاثون سنة ثم تكون ملكا عضوضا »

I say: it is Sunnah to call Mu`āwīyah a king and not to call him a Caliph because the ḥadīth of Safīnah states: Caliphate after Me ﷺ will be for thirty years then there will be biting kings.

The meaning of the term `aḍūḍ in the Ḥadīth is explained by Ibn al-`Athīr in his famous book about meanin of words used in aḥādīth. He says in al-Nihāyah fī gharīb al-Ḥadīth:

(هـ) وفيه: «ثم يكونُ مُلْكٌ عَضُوضٌ»، أي: يُصِيبُ الرَّعيَّةَ فيه عَسْفٌ وظُلْم، كأنّهم يُعَضّون فيه عَضّاً، والعَضُوضُ: من أبْنِية المُبالغة.

وفي رواية: «ثم يكون مُلوك عُضُوض»، وهو جمع: عِضٌّ -بالكسر-، وهو الخَبِيثُ الشّرِسُ.

ومن الأول حديث أبي بكر: «وستَرَون بَعْدي مُلْكاً عَضُوضاً».

In the ḥadīth 'then there will be biting kingship' means that the citizens will suffer from tyranny and oppression as if they were bitten by the teeth...in another report it says 'then there will be biting kings' `uḍūḍ is a plural of `iḍḍ which means ill-tempered wicked...

Shāh Walī Allah al-Dehlavī in his Ḥujjatullah al-Bālighā comments about the rule of Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān:

لأنه كان على سيرة الملوك لا على سيرة الخلفاء قبله.

...because he (Mu`āwīyah) was upon the path of kings and not upon the path of khulafā' before him.

At the time, the politics of oppression was the hallmark of Umayyad dynasty, which continued for ninety years. In some strongholds, the name of Alī was itself inviting the wrath of the rulers so much so that the great pious personalities omitted the name of Imam Alī in their aḥādīth reports to protect themselves. For example, take the example of al-Ḥasan al-Basrī who is among the best of tābi`īn. al-Mullā Alī al-Qārī al-Ḥanafī in his commentary on Nukhbat al-Fikr Sharḥ Sharḥ Nukhbat al-Fikr states:

وكان قد يحذف اسم علي رضي الله تعالى عنه بالخصوص أيضاً لخوف الفتنة.

He (Ḥasan Baṣrī) also especially used to omit the name of Alī for fear of fitna.

Ibn Rajab al-Ḥanbalī in his sharḥ `ilal al-Tirmadhī and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī in his Tadrīb al-Rāwī explain the predicament of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Here cited from Tadrīb al-Rāwī:

وقَالَ يُونس بْن عُبيد: «سألتُ الحَسَن قلتُ: يا أبا سَعِيد، إنَّك تقول: قَالَ رَسُول الله [ح/٣٦/أ] ﷺ وإنَّكَ لم تُدْركهُ؟ فقال: يا ابن أخي، لقد سألتني عَنْ شيءٍ ما سألني عنه أحد قبلك، ولولا منزلتك مِنّي ما أخبرتكَ، إنّي في زَمَانٍ كما ترى ـ وكان في زمن الحجَّاج ـ كل شيءٍ سمعتني أقوله: قَالَ رَسُول الله ﷺ، فهو [عن](٦) عليّ بْن أبي طالبٍ، [هـ/٦٥/ب] غير أنّي في زمان لا أستطيع أن أذْكُرَ عليًّا»(٧).

Ibn `Ubayd says that I enquired from al-Ḥasan, why do you say that Rasūl Allah ﷺ said so and so yet you were not born at the time? He said: O son of my brother, you have asked me about something which others have not asked. You have such a status in my eyes that I will inform you. As you know I live in the times of al-Ḥajjāj and every ḥadīth that you have heard from me in which I say I heard it from Rasūl Allah ﷺ that is actually from Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, in these times I am not able to mention Alī.

How unfortunate! Imam Alī about whom Rasūl Allah ﷺ said in a mutāwātir Ḥadīth that whoever's Mawlā I am, Alī is his Mawlā; about whom in Ṣaḥīh Muslim and elsewhere, we find a pristinely authentic Ḥadīth that O Alī! your love is Imān and your hatred is hypocrisy. The continuous state policy, from the inception of the Umayyad dynasty to silence the supporters of Imam Alī and suppress His excellences for ninety years was a consciously implemented state policy to demean his status in the eyes of the masses.

Its founder initiated these despicable state policies to control the masses. The reason for the heinous propaganda against Imam Alī is confessed by Marwān. It is reported by Ibn Asākir and others. Here it is cited from al-Dhahabī's sīyar 'ālām al-nubalā':

وروى عمر بن عليّ بن الحُسين، عن أبيه، قال: قال مَروانُ: ما كان في القوم أدفعَ عن صاحبنا من صاحِبِكم ـ يعني عليّاً عن عثمانَ ـ قال: فقلت: ما بالُكُم تسُبُّونه على المنابر! قال: لا يستقيمُ الأمرُ إلاّ بذلك. رواه ابن أبي خَيْثَمَة. بإسناد قويّ، عن عمر.

Umar ibn Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn reports from his father that he said that Marwān said: None amongst the people defended Uthmān more than Alī. I said: Then why do you curse Alī upon the pulpits? He said: without it, we cannot strengthen our rule.

al-Dhahabī comments that chain of its report is strong. The truth, for once, was uttered by Marwān mal`ūn, the special agent and governor of Mu`āwīyah in Medina. Imam Alī was a defender of Uthmān ibn `Affān and to curse Imam Alī was their policy to lengthen their oppressive rule. To disparage Imam Alī was the first prong in the propagandist techniques. The second prong was to praise their leader with religious sanction and for this purpose they concocted narrations but the discerning Muḥaddithūn in the course of time, exposed the reality of such aḥādīth. Abū Tāhir al-

Silafī al-Ḥanbalī in his al-Ṭuyūrīyāṭ, al-Suyūṭī in his Tārīkh and here from Ibn Ḥajr al-`Asqalānī in Fatḥ al-Bārī:

وأخرج ابن الجوزي أيضا من طريق عبد الله بن أحمد بن حنبل : سألت

أبي ماتقول في علي ومعاوية ؟ فأطرق ثم قال : اعلم أن عليا كان كثير الأعداء ففتش أعداؤه له عيبا فلم يجدوا ،
فعمدوا إلى رجل قد حاربه فأطروه كيادا منهم لعلي ، فأشار بهذا إلى ما اختلقوه لمعاوية من الفضائل مما لا أصل له .
وقد ورد في فضائل معاوية أحاديث كثيرة لكن ليس فيها ما يصح من طريق الاسناد ، وبذلك جزم إسحق بن
راهويه والنسائي وغيرهما ، والله أعلم

Ibn al-Jawzī also reports this from the route of Abdullah ibn Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal: I asked my father, what is your opinion about Alī and Mu`āwīyah? He bowed his head in silence then said: know this that Alī had many enemies, they tried their best to find faults with him but could not find any so then they turned towards the man who fought Alī and built up praises for him. By this, Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal is pointing to the baseless excellences of Mu`āwīyah. There are many aḥādīth reported in praise of Mu`āwīyah but none are authentic. This is definitively expressed by Isḥāq ibn Rāhwayh, al-Nasā'ī and other Muḥaddithūn.

In his commentary `Umdah al-Qārī on Ṣaḥīh al-Bukhāri, Badr al-Dīn al-`Aynī al-Ḥanafī says:

مطابقته للترجمة من حيث إن فيه ذكر معاوية، ولا يدل هذا على فضيلته. فإن قلت:
قد ورد في فضيلته أحاديث كثيرة. قلت: نعم، ولكن ليس فيها حديث يصح من طريق
الإسناد نص عليه إسحاق بن راهويه والنسائي وغيرهما، فلذلك قال: باب ذكر معاوية، ولم
يقل: فضيلة ولا منقبة.

The heading of this chapter by Imam Bukhārī states dhikr of Mu`āwīyah and this does not indicate his excellence. If you say that there are numerous aḥādīth about his excellence then I will reply that, yes, there are but none of the ḥadīth in Mu`āwīyah's excellence are authentic and it is explicitly stated by Isḥāq ibn Rāhwayh, al-Nasaī and other Muḥaddithūn. This is why Bukhārī said mention of Mu`āwīyah rather than virtue or excellence of Mu`āwīyah.

There is a considerable discussion on this topic of the lack of faḍā'il of Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān from various ahl al-sunnah sources but in the interest of brevity, here are comments of the earliest and most promeinent ahl al-ḥadīth ghayr muqallid muḥaddith from the subcontinent Allamah Waḥīd al-Zamān from his commentary Taysīr al-Bārī on Ṣaḥīh al-Bukhārī:

میں مرے بیاسی سال کی عمر پائی۔ امام بخاری نے اور بابوں کی طرح یوں نہ کہا کہ معاویہ کی فضیلت کیونکہ ان کی فضیلت میں کوئی
حدیث صحیح نہیں ہوئی امام نسائی اور اسحاق بن راہویہ نے ایسا ہی کہا مترجم کہتا ہے صحابیت کا ادب ہم کو اس سے مانع ہے کہ ہم
معاویہؓ کے حق میں کچھ کہیں لیکن سچی بات یہ ہے کہ ان کے دل میں آنحضرت صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم کے اہل بیت کی الفت اور محبت
نہ تھی جب امام حسن کا انتقال ہوا تو کیا کہنے لگے ایک انگارہ تھا جس کو اللہ نے بجھا دیا ان کا باپ ابوسفیان ساری عمر آنحضرت
صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم سے لڑتا رہا یہ خود حضرت علیؓ سے لڑے ان کے بیٹے ناخلف یزید پلید نے تو غضب ڈھا دیا امیر المومنین امام
حسین علیہ السلام کو مع اکثر اہل بیت کے بڑے ظلم اور ستم کے ساتھ شہید کرایا۔

Imam Bukhāri like other chapters did not say excellences of Mu`āwīyah because there are none authentic aḥādīth in his praise, Imam Nasā'ī and Isḥāq ibn Rahawayh have stated as such. I the translator say that his being a ṣaḥābī precludes me to say something about him but the truth is that he did not have love and affection for the ahl al-bayt of the Prophet ﷺ. When Imam Ḥasan died, he said that he was a burning coal which has been put out by God. His father Abū Sufyān, all his life fought with the Blessed Prophet ﷺ, he himself fought with Hadrat Alī and his impure son Yazīd crossed all limits and had Imam Ḥusayn (alayhi al-salām) brutally murdered along with most of his ahl al-Bayt.

Allamah Waḥīd al-Zamān further says:

ف یہ مسئلہ کتاب الصلوٰۃ میں گذر چکا ہے کہ آنحضرت صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم اس دوگانہ کو گھر میں آن کر پڑھا کرتے
تھے شاید معاویہؓ نے نہ دیکھا ہوگا امام بخاری نے ایک مرفوع حدیث بھی معاویہ کی فضیلت میں بیان نہیں کی ادھر ادھر

کے تذکرے کر دیے امام نسائی نے ایک خاص کتاب خصائص کبریٰ جناب علیؓ کے فضائل میں مرتب کی تو خارجیوں نے
ان پر بلوہ کیا اور کہا کہ معاویہؓ کی فضیلت میں بھی تم نے کوئی کتاب لکھی ہے انہوں نے کہا ان کی فضیلت کہاں سے آئی
یا ان کی فضیلت میں تو کوئی حدیث صحیح نہیں ہوئی البتہ ایک حدیث یہ ہے کہ اللہ ان کا پیٹ نہ بھرے اس پر ان
خارجی مردودوں نے امام نسائی کو گھونسوں اور لاتوں سے شہید کر ڈالا۔

...perhaps Mu`āwīyah did not see the Prophet ﷺ pray the two units in such a way, Imam Bukhārī did not even report a single marfū` ḥadīth in the excellence of Mu`āwīyah and just mentioned things from here and there. Imam Nasā'ī authored a specific book khaṣā'iṣ kubrā in the excellences of Ḥadrat Alī so the khārijīs surrounded him and said have you written any book in praise of Mu`āwīyah? He replied: Where is his excellence or there is no Ṣaḥīh Ḥadīth in his praise though there is a ḥadīth which states that May Allah never fill his belly, after that the khārijī men martyred him with kicks and punches.

Even from unexpected ahl al-Ḥadīth Wahābī quarters, a prominent muḥaddith objectively states the reality in his commentary on Ṣaḥīh al-Bukhārī.

However, this is the standard ahl al-Sunnah opinion concerning the authenticity of the faḍā'il of Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān though there are weak and fabricated reports. Of the popularised ones, we find that there are two different comments of the Ṣaḥābī Abdullah Ibn Abbās about Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān in Ṣaḥīh al-Bukhārī reported from the identical source but most Ḥanafī scholars dispute its actual implication. The saying is from the route of Ibn Abī Mulaykah that Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān offered only one unit of witr prayers in the presence of Ibn Abbās. Abdullah Ibn Abbās was asked about it, Ibn Abbas replied: Leave him he was in the company of the Prophet ﷺ and in another variation also from the *identical* source Ibn Abī Mulaykah, he said he is a Faqīh. Allamah Anwar Shāh al-Kashmirī al-Ḥanafī from the Deobandī school says in his Fayḍ al-Bārī, his commentary on Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī:

٣٧٦٤ ـ قوله: (أَوْتَرَ مُعَاوِيَةُ بَعْدَ العِشَاءِ بِرَكْعَةٍ.... إلى قوله: دَعْهُ، فإنه قد صَحِبَ رَسُولَ الله ﷺ). وفي روايةٍ: (أَصَاب، أنه فَقِيهٌ). قلتُ: وليس فيه تصويبٌ له، بل إغماضٌ. ونحو تسامحٍ عنه. وعند الطحاويِّ: «فقام معاويةُ، فَرَكَعَ ركعةً واحدةً، فقال ابن عبَّاسٍ: من أين ترى أَخَذَهَا الحمارُ؟» وَرَاجِعْ تمام البحث من «كشف الستر»، فإن الكلمةَ شديدةٌ.

About his statement that Mu`āwīyah performed one unit of witr after `Isha'...and he said leave him he was in the company of Rasūl Allah ﷺ and in another report he said, he is right because he is a faqīh. I say: in this there is no appreciation but rather turning a blind eye and overlooking his error. The report according to al-Ṭaḥāwī states ; Mu`āwīyah stood up and only read one unit so Ibn Abbās said: where has the donkey got that from?...

Abū Ja`far al-Ṭaḥāwī al-Ḥanafī, the author of `aqīdah al-Ṭahāwīyah, in his Sharḥ Ma`ānī al-Āthār states:

١٧١٨ ـ فذكر ما حدثنا محمد بن عبد الله بن ميمون البغدادي قال: ثنا الوليد بن مسلم، عن الأوزاعي، عن عطاء: قال: قال رجل لابن عباس رضي الله عنهما هل لك في معاوية أوتر بواحدة، وهو يريد أن يعيب معاوية، فقال ابن عباس: أصاب معاوية.

قيل له: قد روى عن ابن عباس رضي الله عنهما في فعل معاوية هذا ما يدل على إنكاره إياه عليه.

١٧١٩ ـ وذلك أن أبا غسان مالك بن يحيي الهمداني حدثنا قال: ثنا عبدالوهاب بن عطاء، قال: أنا عمران بن حدير، عن عكرمة أنه قال: كنت مع ابن عباس عند معاوية نتحدث حتى ذهب هزيع(٢) من الليل، فقام معاوية، فركع ركعة واحدة، فقال ابن عباس: من أين ترى أخذها الحمار؟.

١٧٢٠ ـ حدثنا أبو بكرة، قال: ثنا عثمان بن عمر، قال: ثنا عمران، فذكر بإسناده مثله إلا أنه لم يقل الحمار.

وقد يجوز أن يكون قول ابن عباس «أصاب معاوية» على التقية له، أي أصاب في شيء آخر لأنه كان في زمنه، ولا يجوز عليه ـ عندنا ـ أن يكون ما خالف فعل رسول الله ﷺ الذي قد علمه عنده صوابا.

وقد روى عن ابن عباس في الوتر أنه ثلاث.

1718: `Aṭā' says that a man said to Ibn Abbās do you object to Mu`āwīyah for offering only one rak`at of witr? The man asked to denounce Mu`āwīyah so Ibn Abbas said he is right...

1719: Ikrimah said that I was with Ibn Abbas by Mu`āwīyah who discussed matters until a portion of the night passed so Mu`āwīyah stood up and offered one rak`at. Ibn Abbās said: where did the donkey get that from?

1720: Imrān reported with identical chain of transmission but without the word donkey.

al-Ṭaḥāwī comments: it is permissible that when Ibn Abbās said Mu`āwīyah was correct, it was based upon fear of Mu`āwīyah as it was during his reign and Ibn Abbās may have meant he is correct in some other thing because it is not allowed for him-according to us-to oppose something from the Prophet ﷺ which he knows to be correct. It has been reported from Ibn Abbās that witr rak`āt are three in number.

The great defender of ahl al-sunnah in response to wahābīyah, Zāhid al-Kawtharī al-Ḥanafī states in his al-Nukat al-Ṭarīfah:

عن أناس إليهم، منها ما عزاه إلى ابن عباس أنه قال عن معاوية (أصاب السنة) مع أنه صح بطريقين عن أبى غسان مالك بن يحيى بن كثير بن راشد الهمداني[1] عن عبد الوهاب بن عطاء عن عمران بن حدير عن عكرمة عن ابن عباس انه استنكر صنيع معاوية فى الإيتار بواحدة، وقال: (من أين أخذها الحمار؟)، وفى لفظ بكار بن قتيبة عن عثمان ابن عمر عن عمار عن عكرمة عن ابن عباس (من أين ترى أخذها؟)، فلعل بكاراً تورع عن النطق بكلمة الحمار، والله أعلم.

ووقع الحديث السابق بلفظ (أصاب) فقط فى رواية الطحاوى والبيهقى، فلو صح عن ابن عباس هذا الحمل على التقية لانه كان حاربه تحت راية علي – كرم الله وجهه – فلا مانع من أن يحسب حسابه فى مجالسه العامة دون مجلسه الخاص، ولانه لم يقل: (أصاب السنة فى إيتاره بركعة واحدة)، وإنما قال: (أصاب)، ولا مانع من أن يصيب معاوية فى شيء سوى هذا، فيكون الكلام من المعاريض، على أن الإيتار بواحدة سنة قيمة لكنها منسوخة – فى نظر أصحابنا – بادلة سبقت الإشارة إليها.

About what is reported from Ibn Abbās when he said 'he is correct' whilst there are two other authentic reports in which he objected and said where has the donkey got that from? and from the identical chain from Bakkār upwards in which he says where has he got that from? Perhaps, Bakkār refrained from mentioning the word donkey in his report...In the other report where Ibn Abbās says 'correct' is only found in one of the reports of al-Ṭaḥāwī and al-Bayhaqī and if it is authentic then he said this

> out of fear because Ibn Abbās fought Mu`āwīyah under the banner of Alī (karram Allaha wajhahu) and hence he said one statement in public and the other in private. He did not say he offered one witr correctly according to sunnah but he merely said 'correct' and this does not preclude that he meant Mu`āwīyah was correct in some other matter.....

It is evident that the saying of Ibn Abbās as reported in al-Bukhārī is disputed in words and comprehended in a diametrically opposed fashion by the prominent Sunnī Ḥanafī scholars including Imam al-Ṭaḥāwī. There are two different authentically reported narrations about the same incident by Abdullah Ibn Abbās with two different senses, one positive and the other very negative. The possibility that one is said out of fear and the other as his true opinion can be further corroborated by the merciless cold-blooded murder of the little children of the brother of Ibn Abbās, namely, Ubaydullah ibn Abbās. It is reported by a number of sources including Ṭārīkh of al-Bukharī, Ibn Abd al-Barr, al-Dhahabī and Ibn al-'Athīr. Busr ibn Arṭāṭ was one of the commaders of Mu`āwīyah and it is disputed whether he was a Ṣaḥābī. Here is the relevant and fuller part from the renowned biographical work about Ṣaḥābah Usud al-Ghābah by Ibn al-'Athīr al-Jazarī:

وشهد صفين مع معاوية، وكان شديداً على علي وأصحابه.

قال أبو عمر: كان يحيى بن معين يقول: لا تصح له صحبة، وكان يقول: هو رجل سوء وذلك لما ركبه في الإسلام من الأمور العظام، منها ما نقله أهل الأخبار وأهل الحديث أيضاً؛ من ذبحه عبدالرحمٰن وقُثَم ابني عبيدالله بن العباس بن عبد المطلب، وهما صغيران بين يدي أمهما، وكان معاوية سيّره إلى الحجاز واليمن ليقتل شيعة علي ويأخذ البيعة له،

فسار إلى المدينة ففعل بها أفعالاً شنيعة وسار إلى اليمن، وكان الأمير على اليمن عبيدالله بن العباس عاملاً لعلي بن أبي طالب، رضي الله عنه، فهرب عبيدالله، فنزلها بسر ففعل فيها هذا، وقيل: إنه قتلهما بالمدينة، والأول أكثر.

قال: وقال الدارقطني: بسر بن أرطاة له صحبة، ولم تكن له استقامة بعد النبي ﷺ ولما قتل ابني عبيدالله أصاب أمهما عائشة بنت عبد المدان من ذلك حزن عظيم فأنشأت تقول:

ها من أحس بُنيَّيَّ اللذين هما
كالدرتين تَشَظَّى عنهما الصدفُ

الأبيات، وهي مشهورة، ثم وسوست؛ فكانت تقف في الموسم تنشد هذا الشعر، ثم تهيم على وجهها. ذكر هذا ابن الأنباري. والمبرد، والطبري، وابن الكلبي، وغيرهم، ودخل المدينة، فهرب منه كثير من أهلها منهم: جابر بن عبدالله، وأبو أيوب الأنصاري، وغيرهما وقتل فيها كثيراً. وأغار على همدان باليمن، وسبى نساءهم، فكن أول مسلمات سبين في الإسلام، وهدم بالمدينة دوراً، وقد ذكرت الحادثة في التواريخ، فلا حاجة إلى الإطالة بذكرها.

He was on the side of Mu`āwīyah at Ṣiffīn and severe in animosity against Alī and his companions. Abū Umar said that Yaḥya ibn Ma`īn said that Busr was not a ṣaḥābī and that he was an evil man. Due to which he committed many heinous acts. Amongst those that which has been stated by historians and Muhaddthūn alike is that he slit the throats of the little children of Uabydullah ibn Abbas, namely, Abd al-Raḥmān and Quthūm in front of their mother. Mu`āwīyah sent him to Ḥijāz and Yemen to kill the supporters of Alī and take allegiance for Mu`āwīyah hence he went to Medina and committed atrocities and went to Yemen; at the time Ubaydullah ibn Abbas was the administrator there for Alī. Ubaydullah ibn Abbās escaped but when Busr reached there, he slaughtered his children. Some said that he committed this in Medina but the first view is the famous one. Abū Umar said that al-Daraquṭnī said that he was a ṣaḥābī but after the Prophet ﷺ he did not remain on the straight path. When he killed the children of Ubaydullah ibn Abbas, their mother `Ayesha bint `abd al-Midān was in extreme shock and she said some poetry in lament, of which this a couplet: *has anyone seen my lovely children!...who are like pearls just out of the shell.* These are famous verses, then she lost her mind and during the Ḥajj season, she used to stand in front of the

> people and recite these verses and hit herself in the face. This was related by al-Anbarī, al-Mubarrad, al-Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Kalabī and others. Busr then turned towards Medina and many distinguished personalities escaped among them were Jābir ibn Abdullah, Abū Ayūb al-Anṣārī and others. He killed many people there and then attacked the tribe of Hamadān in Yemen and enslaved their women. This is the first instance where Muslim women were enslaved and he demolished many houses in Yemen....

This is pure evil, does ISIS come to mind? It is so heart wrenching that one feels the pain of the grief stricken mother of the nephews of Ibn Abbās. Indeed, al-Ṭaḥāwī is right that Ibn Abbās was in Mu`āwīyah's time and he may have said this out of fear given that he fought against him at Ṣiffīn. The discussion thus far, has explicated with authentic references only that the two pronged approach of the Umayyad dynasty, of disparagement of Imam Alī and glorification of Mu`āwīyah were major tools of their propaganda ministry, the reverberations are being felt to this day as the raison d'être of this document suggests. The means to advance the agenda was ruthless suppression and indeed Rasūl Allah ﷺ foretold us that Ammār ibn Yāsir will be killed by al-fi'a al-bāghīyah. When the word Bāghī is used in an unqualified sense then it only means Ẓulm.

Furthermore, since there are no authentic excellences reported from Rasūl Allah ﷺ about Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān hence we have the titles Kātib al-waḥī and khāl al-mu'minīn in circulation. The scribe of revelation and Uncle of believers is exclusively used for Mu`āwīyah. This in itself is an indication of the lack of faḍā'il. The revelation of the Qur'ān al-Karīm had been in process for twenty one years prior to his acceptance of Islam and the prominent scribes of it were Imam Alī, Uthmān al-Ghanī, Ubayī ibn Ka`b and Zayd ibn Thābit but none find it necessary to attach kātib al-waḥī to their titles because there are authentic excellences about them. Similarly, `Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr, Moḥammed ibn Abī Bakr, Abdullah ibn Umar and others are not mentioned as Uncles of Believers whilst their sisters were also married to Rasūl Allah ﷺ

Kātib al-Waḥī

There is a huge discussion on the idea of being a scribe of revelation and just being a scribe. In order to be concise, as it does not concern our main argument, here is the reply of an erudite objective Nadvī scholar Dr Sayyid Rizwān Alī Nadvī on the issue of kātib al-waḥī in which he refutes a nāṣibī leader of ṣipāh ṣaḥābah's article in a national news paper:

روزنامہ امت کراچی/حیدرآباد

حضرت معاویہؓ اور قدیم مؤرخین ومحدثین (آخری حصہ)

ڈاکٹر سید رضوان علی ندوی

ہے۔اسی طرح مضمون میں الصابۃ کا یہ حوالہ بھی غلط ہے کہ امیر معاویہ رضی اللہ عنہ کاتب وحی تھے،جس کا جی چاہے حافظ ابن حجر کی اس کتاب کی تیسری جلد میں حضرت معاویہ رضی اللہ عنہ کے حالات پڑھ لے،اس میں کہیں ان کو کاتب وحی نہیں لکھا ہے۔ یہ بات لوگوں نے خواہ مخواہ مشہور کردی ہے اور افسوس کی بات ہے کہ حافظ ابن کثیرؒ بھی اس رو میں بہہ گئے ہیں۔ جہاں تک حافظ ابن حجرؒ کا تعلق ہے۔ جو ابن کثیرؒ سے زیادہ وسیع العلم اور حافظ حدیث و مؤرخ ہیں،انہوں نے تو تمام کتب تاریخ کی طرح پہلے تو صرف اتنا ہی لکھا ہے:''وکتب لہ''(اور معاویہ نے رسول اللہ ﷺ کے لیے لکھا) ملاحظہ کیجیے کہ اس میں کہیں کتابت وحی کا ذکر نہیں۔ پھر آگے چل کر اسی الاصابۃ (3/434) میں قدیم ترین مورخ المدائنی (وفات 225ھ) کے حوالے سے لکھا ہے''کان زید ثابت یکتب الوحی۔ وکان معاویہ یکتب للنبی ﷺ فیما بینہ وبین العرب''(زید بن ثابتؓ وحی لکھا کرتے تھے اور معاویہ رضی اللہ عنہ، نبی ﷺ کے لیے،آپ ﷺ کے اور عربوں کے درمیان جو معاملات ہوتے تھے وہ لکھا کرتے تھے) یعنی حضور ﷺ کے خطوط اور معاہدات لکھا کرتے تھے۔ اور یہی بات ابن حجر سے ایک صدی قبل امام ذہبی نے حضرت معاویہؓ کے مفصل سوانح حیات میں لکھی ہے اور انہوں نے اس کتابت کی حقیقت بھی اس طرح بیان کی ہے:''وکتب مرات یسیرۃ''(چند ہی مرتبہ انہوں نے حضور ﷺ کے لیے ایسی کتابت یا خطوط نگاری کی) اسیر اعلام النبلائی، الذہبی ج3ص 321۔

قدیم ترین مؤرخ ابوالحسن المدائنی کی کاتبین نبی ﷺ سے متعلق کتاب تو اب مفقود ہے لیکن ایک قدیم مؤرخ ابن عبدوس الجہشیاری کی اسلام میں وزیروں اور سیکریٹریوں سے متعلق کتاب''الوزراء والکتاب'' مطبوع ہے،جس میں سب سے پہلے عہد نبوی یا حضور ﷺ کے کاتبوں کا ذکر اور ان کے اختصاصات بتائے گئے ہیں۔ گویا یہ حضور ﷺ کے مستقل منشیوں یا آفس اسٹاف کا ذکر ہے۔ اس میں وحی لکھنے والوں میں حضرت علیؓ، حضرت عثمانؓ، حضرت ابی بن کعبؓ اور حضرت زید بن ثابت رضی اللہ عنہم کا ذکر ہے اور ساتھ ہی یہ بھی کہا گیا ہے کہ زید بن ثابتؓ کتابت وحی کے ساتھ بادشاہوں اور حکمرانوں کو آپ ﷺ کی طرف سے خطوط لکھتے تھے، جب کہ حضرت خالد بن سعید بن العاصؓ اور حضرت معاویہؓ آپ ﷺ کی روزمرہ کی ضروریات (حوائج) لکھا کرتے تھے۔ یہ ملحوظ رہے کہ محمد بن عبدوس الجہشیاری خود عہد عباسی میں (تیسری صدی ہجری کے اواخر اور چوتھی صدی ہجری کے ربع اول میں) عباسی خلفاء کے یہاں کاتب (سیکریٹری کے عہدے پر مامور تھے۔ ان کا سال وفات 331ھ ہے پھر حافظ ابن حجر نے بخاری کی اپنی مشہور شرح فتح الباری جلد 7 میں حضرت معاویہؓ کے ذکر میں صرف اتنا لکھا ہے:''وصحب النبی ﷺ وکتب لہ''یعنی نبی ﷺ کی صحبت حاصل کی اور ان کے لیے کتابت کی''۔ انہوں نے یہ قطعاً نہیں لکھا ہے کہ معاویہ رضی اللہ عنہ نے وحی کی کتابت کی۔(فتح الباری ج7 ص104)۔ اس طرح ابن حجر کا بیان الاصابہ اور فتح الباری دونوں میں یکساں ہے،یعنی صرف''کتابت'' کا ذکر ہے، کتابت وحی کا ذکر سرے سے نہیں۔

امام ذہبیؒ جو انتہائی ثقہ محدث اور وسیع الاطلاع قدیم مورخ ہیں (وفات 748ھ) انہوں نے بھی کہیں حضرت معاویہؓ کی کتابت وحی کا ذکر نہیں کیا بلکہ اس کے برعکس اپنی تاریخ الاسلام (عہد معاویہ، تحقیق عبدالسلام، بیروت، ص309) اور سیر اعلام النبلاء میں تصریح کی ہے کہ: "کان زید بن ثابت کاتب الوحی وکان معاویۃ کاتبا فیما بین النبی ﷺ وبین العرب" (زید بن ثابتؓ کاتب وحی تھے اور معاویہ رضی اللہ عنہ آپ ﷺ کے اور عربوں کے مابین جو معاملات ہوتے تھے ان کے کاتب تھے) یہ وہی بات ہے جو ذہبی سے چار سو سال قبل تیسری و چوتھی صدی ہجری کے مذکورہ بالا مورخ و کاتب (سیکریٹری) محمد بن عبدوس جہشیاری نے لکھی ہے۔

اور ان سے قبل مشہور مفسر، محدث اور مورخ امام طبریؒ نے بھی حضرت معاویہ رضی اللہ عنہ کو کاتب وحی نہیں بلکہ یہی لکھا ہے: "ومعاویۃ یکتب بین یدیہ فی حوائجہ" (اور معاویہ رضی اللہ عنہ آپ ﷺ کے سامنے آپ کی ضرورتوں کے امور لکھتے تھے)۔ تاریخ طبری دار المعارف القاہرۃ ج 6 ص 179)۔ طبری کے بعد مورخ المسعودی (وفات 347ھ) نے زیادہ تفصیل سے التنبیہ والاشراف میں آپ ﷺ کے دس مستقل کاتبین کا ذکر کیا ہے، جو مختلف امور میں کتابت کے ذمہ دار تھے، یعنی یہ آپ کا سیکریٹریٹ تھا اور پانچ ان کاتبین کا ذکر کیا ہے جو کبھی کبھار آپ ﷺ کی کسی معاملے میں کتابت کرایا کرتے تھے۔ انہی میں حضرت معاویہ رضی اللہ عنہ کا بھی ذکر ہے اور یہ تصریح کی ہے: "وکتب معاویۃ قبل وفاتہ باشہر" (اور معاویہ رضی اللہ عنہ نے آپ ﷺ کی وفات سے چند ماہ قبل کتابت کی)، (القاہرۃ 1938 ص 246)۔

مضمون نگار نے کتابت وحی کے سلسلے جو حوالہ ابن حزم کی کتاب جوامع السیرۃ سے دیا ہے، اس میں قطع و برید و اضافے سے کام لیا ہے۔ انہوں نے زید بن ثابتؓ کی مستقل طور پر کتابت وحی کے ذکر بعد فتح مکہ کے بعد معاویہ رضی اللہ عنہ کی کتابت کا ذکر کیا ہے لیکن انہوں نے حضرت معاویہ رضی اللہ عنہ کے نام کے بعد "وغیر ذلک من الامور" کا جملہ لکھا ہے (جمہرۃ التواریخ ص 27) اور ہم نے دوسرے قدیم مورخین کے حوالوں سے ثابت کیا ہے کہ وہ حضور ﷺ کی ان معاملات میں کتابت کرتے، جو ان کے اور سرداران قبائل کے مابین ہوتے تھے۔ عصر حاضر میں ڈاکٹر مصطفی الاعظمی نے کتاب النبیؐ کے نام سے جو کتاب لکھی ہے (61 کاتبین کے حالات) اس میں معاویہ رضی اللہ عنہ کو کاتب وحی نہیں لکھا ہے۔

...similarly, his reference from al-Iṣābah is also incorrect that ḥaḍrat mu`āwīyah was a scribe of revelation. Whoever wants to ascertain it can check it in the biographical note on ḥaḍrat mu`āwīyah in al-Iṣābah, it does not state that he was a kātib e waḥī in al-Iṣābah. People have popularised it and unfortunately even Ibn Kathīr fell for it. As far as Ḥafiẓ Ibn Ḥajr is concerned who is more knowledgable in ḥadīth and history than Ibn Kathīr, has stated like all other books of history that كتب له mu`āwīyah wrote for the Prophet ﷺ and see that it does not say scribe of revelation. Ibn Hajr further writes in al-Iṣābah with reference to the earliest historian al-Madā'inī (d. 225):

كان زيد بن ثابت يكتب الوحي و كان معاوية يكتب للنبي فيما بينه و بين العرب Zayd ibn Thābit used to write revelation and mu`āwīyah wrote correspondence between the Prophet ﷺ and the Arabs. This means he wrote letters and agreements. The same was stated by al-Dhahabī, a century earlier to Ibn Ḥajr, in his detailed biography in his book sīyar al-ālām al-nubalā'. He explains the frequency of this writing by ḥaḍrat mu`āwīyah كتب له مرات يسيرة he only wrote a few times for the Prophet ﷺ. The earliest historian Abū al-Ḥasan al-Madā'inī's book on the scribes of the Prophet ﷺ is extinct now but another early historian Ibn `Abdūs al-Juhshīyārī's specific work on the ministers and secretaries in Islam is published and extant by the name of Kitāb al-Wuzarā' wal-Kuttāb and in it he details the the scribes of the Prophet ﷺ and their special duties. It is about the permanent secretaries and office staff of the Prophet ﷺ in which he states: the scribes of revelation were Ḥaḍrat Alī, Ḥaḍrat Uthmān, Ḥaḍrat Ubayī ibn Ka`b and Ḥaḍrat Zayd ibn Thābit, and he also states: Zayd ibn Thābit along with writing waḥī, also wrote correspondence of the Prophet ﷺ with Kings and rulers whilst Ḥaḍrat Khālid ibn Sa`īd ibn al-Ās and ḥaḍrat mu`āwīyah wrote the daily needs of the Prophet ﷺ. It is to be noted that Moḥammed ibn `Abdūs al-Juhshīyārī was himself a scribe to Abbasid caliphs towards the end of third century and in the first quarter of the fourth century and he died in 331 AH. Ḥafiḍ Ibn Ḥajr al-Asqalānī in his famous commentary Fatḥ al-Bārī on Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī only states: صحب النبي و كتب له he had the company of the Prophet ﷺ and

> wrote for Him ﷺ. He absolutely did not state that ḥaḍrat mu`āwīyah wrote waḥī. Ibn Ḥajr's statements in al-Iṣābah and Fatḥ al-Bārī is the same, there is mention of writing only and no mention of being a scribe of revelation.
>
> Al-Dhahabī who is an authentic ḥadīth scholar and historian of immense information also in his Tārīkh al-Islam and Sīyar ālām al-nubalā did not say that he was a scribe of revelation but rather to the contrary, he states:
>
> كان زيد بن ثابت كاتب الوحي و كان معاوية كاتبا فيما بين النبي و بين العرب Zayd ibn thābit was the scribe of revelation and Mu`āwīyah was a scribe of that was between the Prophet ﷺ and the Arabs. This is identical to what was said by al-Juhshīyārī four centuries prior to al-Dhahabī... and prior to him the famous exegete, muḥaddith and historian Imam al-Ṭabarī (d. 310) also stated that و معاوية يكتب بين
>
> يديه فى حوائجه and Mu`āwīyah wrote the daily needs of the Prophet ﷺ for him. After al-Ṭabarī history, the historian al-Mas`ūdī (d. 345) records in fuller detail in his book al-Tanbīh wa'l-Ashrāf about the Prophet ﷺ's ten permanent scribes; who were responsible for various duties. Of those were five who occasionally wrote for Him ﷺ and about ḥaḍrat mu`āwīyah he explicitly states that وكتب معاوية قبل وفاته باشهر and mu`āwīyah wrote for Him ﷺ only a few months prior to the passing away of the Prophet ﷺ.
>
> ...in contemporary times, Dr Muṣtafā al-`Azamī authored a work on the subject by the name of Kuttāb al-Nabī ﷺ in which he wrote about sixty-one scribes and he did not mention Mu`āwīyah as a scribe of revelation in it.

Dr Syed Rizwān Nadvī at the end of this particular point about kātib e waḥī says in his article:

بڑا افسوس اس بات کا ہے کہ حضرت معاویہ رضی اللہ عنہ کی کتابت وحی کا ڈھول پیٹنے والے اس اظہار سے تغافل برتتے ہیں کہ وہ ظہور اسلام کے اکیس سال بعد اسلام لائے، فتح مکہ کے موقع پر جیسا کہ ہم نے مختلف شواہد سے ثابت کیا ہے۔ تو سوال یہ ہے کہ اکیس سال تک کون قرآن لکھ رہا تھا؟ مکی عہد کی سورتوں اور اولین آٹھ سالہ مدنی عہد کی سورتوں کے نزول کے وقت حضرت معاویہؓ اسلام ہی نہیں لائے تھے اور ان اکیس برسوں میں بہت زیادہ قرآن لکھا جا چکا تھا، آخر کے دو برسوں میں تو بہت کم قرآن لکھا گیا۔ درس نظامی کے مدارس میں اسلامی تاریخ پڑھائی نہیں جاتی ہے۔ افسوس کہ دروس حدیث پڑھاتے ہوئے رجال حدیث اور صحابہ کے حالات سے انہیں بے خبر رکھا جاتا ہے، افسوسناک حد تک۔ مجھے اس کا ذاتی تجربہ کراچی میں ہوا۔ ڈیفنس کی دو مساجد میں نماز جمعہ میں، میں نے خطبہ جمعہ میں، دوسرے خطبہ میں خلفائے راشدینؓ کے نام کے ساتھ حضرت معاویہؓ کا نام بھی سنا تو پہلی مرتبہ مسجد سے باہر نکلتے ہوئے میں نے امام صاحب سے کہا کہ آج آپ نے حضرت ابوعبیدہؓ، حضرت سعد بن ابی وقاصؓ اور حضرت عبدالرحمن بن عوفؓ وغیرہ ''السابقون الاولون'' صحابہ پر بڑا ظلم کیا، بڑے سٹ پٹائے کہ کیا بات ہوئی؟۔ میں نے کہا کہ آپ نے ان جلیل القدر صحابہ کا نام تو دعا کے ساتھ دوسرے خطبے میں لیا نہیں اور حضرت معاویہ رضی اللہ عنہ کا نام لیا، جو بہت بعد میں اسلام لائے، ساتھ ہی میں نے ان سے یہ بھی پوچھا کہ کیا آپ کو معلوم ہے کہ حضرت معاویہ رضی اللہ عنہ کب اسلام لائے تھے؟ تو انہوں نے لاعلمی کا اظہار کیا۔ میں نے جب بتایا کہ وہ حضور ﷺ کی وفات سے صرف دو سال قبل سن 8ھ میں اسلام لائے تھے تو بڑے خاموش ہوئے۔ دوسرے صاحب جو ملتان کے کسی بڑے مدرسے کے فارغ التحصیل تھے۔ انہوں نے اپنے خطبہ کا پہلا حصہ مولانا اشرف علی تھانوی صاحب کا تصنیف کردہ پڑھا، دوسرا خطبہ جس میں خلفائے راشدین کے ساتھ حضرت معاویہؓ کا نام تھا، میں نے موصوف سے پوچھا کہ آپ نے دوسرا خطبہ مولانا تھانوی صاحب کا نہیں پڑھا، وہ کس کا تھا؟ انہوں نے بتایا کہ وہ مفتی رشید احمد صاحب کا تحریر کردہ ہے۔ مولانا تھانوی کے خطبہ ثانیہ میں حضرت معاویہؓ کا نام نہیں۔ میں نے ان سے پوچھا کہ بتایئے حضرت معاویہ رضی اللہ عنہ کب اسلام لائے، تو وہ بھی پہلے خطیب کی طرح اس سے لاعلم تھے، مجھ سے کہنے لگے آپ بتایئے، میں نے جب بتایا کہ وہ ظہور اسلام کے اکیس سال بعد سن 8ھ میں اسلام لائے تو کھسیانے سے ہوئے۔ لوگوں نے ان کی کتابت وحی کا اتنا پروپیگنڈا کیا ہے کہ لوگ ان کو اولین صحابہ میں سے سمجھنے لگے ہیں۔ ان کو معلوم نہیں کہ وہ نہ مہاجرین میں سے تھے اور نہ انصار میں سے، جن کی فضیلت قرآن وحدیث میں بیان کی گئی ہے۔

> It is indeed unfortunate that those who beat the drums of kātib e waḥī overlook the fact that ḥaḍrat mu`āwīyah (ra) accepted Islam twenty one years after the advent of Islam at the conquest of Mecca as we have proved from various evidences. So the question is who was writing the Qur'ān for twenty one years? Meccan Sūrahs and eight years of Medinan Sūrahs, ḥaḍrat mu`āwīyah was not even a Muslim and in those twenty years most of the Qur'ān had been scribed and in the last two years there was very little of the Qur'an that was scribed. Histroy is not taught in Darse Niẓāmī syllabus. It is sad that whilst teaching ḥadīth, the students are not taught history and I have firsthand experience of this lamentable situation. In Karachi at two Mosques on Friday prayers I heard the Imams mention the names of ḥaḍrat mu`āwīyah in the khuṭbah after the names of Khulafah Rāshidūn. Whilst coming out of the Mosque I said to the Imam that you have been unjust to the al-sābiqūn al-awwalūn ṣaḥābah such as Ḥaḍrat Abū Ubaydah, Ḥaḍrat Sa`d ibn Abī Waqāṣ, Ḥaḍrat Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Awf and others. He was confused as to how he had been unjust. I said that you did not mention the names of the great ṣaḥābah in your khuṭbah but mentioned ḥaḍrat mu`āwīyah who became Muslim much later. I also asked him do you know when he accepted Islam? He did not know! Then I told him that he became a Muslim in the last two years of the Prophet ﷺ's life in the 8th year of Hijrah. This discovery silenced him. The other Imam who had graduated from a celebrated Madrassah in Multān. He read the first khuṭbah from mawlāna Ashraf Ali Thanvī's book and the second khuṭbah in which there are names of the Rāshidūn Caliphs along with ḥaḍrat mu`āwīyah. I asked him: where did you read the second khuṭbah from? He replied: it is written by Muftī Rashīd Aḥmed Ṣāḥib. There is no mention of Ḥaḍrat Mu`āwīyah in the khuṭbah of Mawlana Thanvī. I asked him: when did ḥaḍrat mu`āwīyah accept Islam? Like the other Imam, he also did not know and asked me when? I said that he accepted Islam twenty one years after the advent of Islam in the last two years in the 8th year of Hijrah. This made him blush with shame. The fact is that there is so much propaganda about being a scribe of revelation that people think that he was from the earliest of ṣaḥābah. They do not know that mu`āwīyah is neither from Muhājirūn nor Anṣār about whom the Qur'ān expresses excellences.

Since it is not the main stay of this document hence in the interest of brevity, an excerpt from a prolific Nadvī scholar was presented from a national newspaper to argue that scribe of revelation thesis is factually incorrect but rather Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān was a scribe for the Prophet ﷺ in His last few months for relatively inessential matters of writing. However, this brings us to the other oft shouted title, namely, Khāl al-Mu'minīn, the uncle of believers.

Khāl al-Mu’minīn

The other title frequently used is that Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān is *khāl al-mu’minīn,* the maternal uncle of the believers because his sister was Umm al-mu’minīn Umm Ḥabībah. This is popularised as a distinctive title for Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Suyān, particularly, in his defence to provide some sort of elevated status amongst ṣaḥābah. Consider the rigorous view of `Ulamā’ of ahl al-Sunnah and Salafīst scholars about this appellation.

al-Baghawī in his tafsīr M`ālim al-Tanzīl says:

وراء حجاب» (الأحزاب ــ ٥٣)، ولا يقال لبناتهن هن أخوات المؤمنين ولا لإخوانهن وأخواتهن هم أخوال المؤمنين وخالاتهم[٢] .

قال الشافعي: تزوج الزبير أسماء بنت أبي بكر، وهي أخت أم المؤمنين، ولم يقل هي خالة المؤمنين[٢] .

The daughters of the mothers of believers will not be called the sisters of believers nor their brothers and sisters will be called uncles and aunties of believers. Imam al-Shāfi`ī said: al-Zubayr married Asmā’ bint Abī Bakr and she was the sister of (Ayesha) the mother of believers but she was not called the aunty of believers.

al-Wāḥidī states in his celebrated tafsīr, al-Wasīṭ:

يا أمه فقالت: لست لك بأم إنما انا أم رجالكم فبان بهذا أن معنى هذه الأمومة تحريم نكاحهن فقط، وعلى هذا لا يجوز أن يقال لبناتهن هنّ أخوات المؤمنين ولا لإخوانهن أخوال المؤمنين وخالات المؤمنين ولهذا قال الشافعي رضي الله عنه تزوج الزبير[٢] أسماء[٣] بنت أبي بكر رضي الله عنه وهي أخت أم المؤمنين[٤] ولم يقل وهي خالة المؤمنين

...Umm al-Mu’minīn `Ayesha said to a lady that I am not your mother because I am only the mother of men, this means that this motherhood is based on the prohibition of marriage to them and similarly it is not permissible to call their daughters as sisters of believers nor their brothers and sisters as uncles and aunts of believers. This is why al-Shāfi`ī (raḍī Allah anhu) said that al-Zubayr married ‘Asmā bint Abī Bakr (radi Allah anhu) whilst she is the sister of the mother of believers but she is not called the aunty of believers...

Therefore, the earliest authentic Sunni tafsīr Imams explicitly declared that the title, mother of believers, is not a transitive one and does not extend the relation to other members of her family as stated by Imam al-Shāfi`i.

Ibn `Ādil al-Ḥanbalī in his tafsīr, al-Lubāb states:

ولا يقال لبناتهن هن أخوات للمؤمنين ولا لإخوانهن[٩] وأخواتهن أخوال المؤمنين

Their daughters will not be called sisters of believers nor their brother and sisters will be called uncles and aunties of believers...

al-Qāḍī Thanā-Ullah al-Ḥanafī echoes al-Aynī al-Ḥanafī and says in his tafsīr al-Maẓharī:

فسألوهن من وراء حجاب﴾[٤] ولا يقال لبناتهن أخوات المؤمنين ولا لإخوتهن وأخواتهن
أخوال المؤمنين وخالاتهم، قال الشافعي تزوج الزبير أسماء بنت أبي بكر وهي أخت أم
المؤمنين عائشة ولم يقل هي خالة المؤمنين، قلت وزوج رسول الله ﷺ بناته بعلي
وعثمان، قال البغوي روى الشعبي عن مسروق أن امرأةً قالت لعائشة يا أمه فقالت لستُ
لك بأم إنما أنا أم رجالكم، وكذا أخرج البيهقي في سننه فَبَانَ بهذا أنه تعالى أراد تحريم

Their daughters will not be called sisters of believers nor their brothers or sisters will be called uncles and aunties of believers. al-Shāfi`ī said: al-Zubayr married Asmā bin Abī Bakr and she was the sister of mother of believers `Ayesha but she is not called the aunty of believers. I say that Rasūl Allah ﷺ married his daughters to Alī and Uthmān and al-Baghawī said that al-Sh`abī reported from Masrūq that a woman said to Ayesha O my Mother! She replied: I am not the mother of women but only the mother of men...

al-Nawawī in his Rawḍah al-Ṭālibīn says:

والخلوة ، ولا يقال : بناتهن اخوات المؤمنين ، ولا آباؤهن وامهاتهن أجداد وجدات
المؤمنين ، ولا إخوتهن وأخواتهن أخوال المؤمنين وخالاتهم . وحكى أبو الفرج الزاز

Their daughters will not be called sisters of believers nor their parents will be called the grandparents of believers and nor their sisters and brothers will be called aunties and uncles of believers.

Some Salafī Wahābīs are adamant that the their new version of Ibn Kathīr's tafsīr is the correct one in which they have omitted the negative particle 'lā' in front of Imam al-Shāfi`ī's statement which now reads that you can call them aunts and uncles. In the earlier publication of tafsīr Ibn Kathīr it says that you cannot call them uncles and aunties and includes the particle 'lā'. However, al-Shanqīṭī (d. 1393) in his adwā' al-bayān quotes Ibn Kathīr prior to the Wahābīs got hold of the tafsīr and quotes him as saying 'lā yuqāl dhālik' they cannot be called uncles and aunts. However, this has been stated centuries prior to Ibn Kathīr such as see aforementioned al-Baghāwī in his m`ālim al-tanzīl. The teacher and colleague of Ibn Kathīr also negate the usage of uncle of believers. We cite here al-Muntaqā; which is an abridgment of Ibn Taymīyah's minhāj al-sunnah by al-Dhahabī. Hence, the view of both Ibn Taymīyah and al-Dhahabī, the salafī favourites:

تنازع العلماء في إخوتهن هل يقال لأحدهم « خال المؤمنين » ؟ فجوَّز ذلك بعضهم(٣)، ولو جوَّزنا ذلك لاتسع الخرق ولَكثر أخوالُ المؤمنين وخالاتهم ولَقيل في أبي بكر وعمر : جدّ المؤمنين ولَحرُمَ التزوُّج بخالات المؤمنين ، وهذا

The scholars have disputed about whether to call their brothers as maternal uncles of the believers? some have allowed it but if we allow it then it would swell the titles and there would be numerous uncles and aunties of believers and Abū Bakr and Umar would be grandparents of believers and consequently, it would be prohibited to marry the sisters of the mothers of believers....

It is adequate to cite the chief defender of Umayyads here for the salafist point of view. Moreover, Wahbah al-Zuhaylī in his tafsīr, al-Tafsīr al-Munīr states

٣ - جعلت أزواج النبي ﷺ أمهات المؤمنين في وجوب التعظيم والبِرّ والإجلال، وحرمة النكاح على الرجال، وتحريم النظر إليهن، وحجبهن عن الرجال، بخلاف الأمهات. وهذه الأمومة لا توجب ميراثاً كأمومة التبني، وجاز تزويج بناتهن، ولا يجعلن أخوات للناس، ولا أخوالهن أخوال المؤمنين وخالاتهم، فقد تزوج الزبير أسماء بنت أبي بكر الصديق، وهي أخت عائشة، ولم يقل: هي خالة المؤمنين. ولا يقال لمعاوية وأمثاله خال المؤمنين.

وهن في قول أمهات الرجال خاصة، لا أمهات الرجال والنساء، عن عائشة رضي الله عنها أن امرأة قالت لها: يا أمّه؛ فقالت لها: لست لك بأمّ، إنما أنا أمُّ رجالكم. قال ابن العربي: وهو الصحيح(١).

> The wives of the Prophet ﷺ are mothers of believers by virtue of respect , goodness and honour and prohibition of marriage to them...it is permitted to mary their daughters by believers and they do not become the sisters of believers nor their brothers and sisters become the uncles and aunts of believers. al-Zubayr married Asmā bint Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq whilst she was the sister of `Āyesha and it is not said she is the aunt of believers neither one can say Mu`āwīyah and others like him are the uncles of believers. They are the mothers of believers among men only and not mothers of women. It is authentically reported from `Āyesha (raḍī Allah anha) as Ibn al-Arabī has said that when a woman said to her O my mother! She replied: I am not your mother but only the mother of your men.

It is also stated by Allamah Na`īm al-Dīn al-Muradabādī in his Ḥāshīyah khazā'in al-irfān on Alahazrat's translation Kanzul Imān:

آپس میں بھائی کہلاتے ہیں کہ وہ اپنے نبی کی دینی اولاد ہیں۔ ف۱۵ تعظیم حرمت میں اور نکاح کے ہمیشہ کے لیے حرام ہونے میں اور اس کے علاوہ دوسرے احکام
میں مثل وراثت اور پردہ وغیرہ کے ان کا وہی حکم ہے جو اجنبی عورتوں کا اور ان کی بیٹیوں کو مومنین کی بہنیں اور ان کے بھائیوں اور بہنوں کو مومنین کے ماموں خالہ نہ کہا
جائے گا۔ ف۱۶ توارث میں ف۱۷ مسئلہ: اس سے معلوم ہوا کہ "أُولُوا الْأَرْحَامِ" ایک دوسرے کے وارث ہوتے ہیں، کوئی اجنبی دینی برادری کے ذریعہ سے

...and their daughters will not be called the sisters of believers and their brothers and sisters will not be called uncles and aunts of believers...

Muftī Aḥmed Yār Khān in his Shān e Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān ﷺ says:

خلوت کرنا کسی مسلمان کو جائز نہیں' ان کے اہل قرابت یعنی بہن بھائی مسلمانوں کے
ماموں یا خالہ قرار نہ پائیں گے بلکہ ان سے نکاح جائز ہو گا۔ مثلاً حضرت عائشہ صدیقہ
مطہرہ رضی اللہ تعالیٰ عنہا مسلمانوں کی والدہ ماجدہ ہیں مگر ان کے بھائی عبدالرحمن مسلمان
مردوں اور عورتوں کے ماموں نہیں اور ان کی بہن حضرت اسماء رضی اللہ تعالیٰ عنہا
مسلمانوں کی خالہ نہیں' ان کے ساتھ نکاح اہل اسلام کا ہوا جس طرح حضور علیہ السلام

> ...their relatives such as their brother and sisters will be not uncles and aunts of the believers but rather marriage with them is permissible. For example, Ḥaḍrat `Āyesha Ṣiddīqa Mutahirah raḍī Allah anhā is mother of believers but her brother `Abd al-Rahmān is not the uncle of Muslim men and women and her sister Ḥaḍrat `Asmā' raḍī Allah Anhā is not the aunt of Muslims...

Muftī Aḥmed Yār Khan again repeats it in his commentary Nūr al-Irfān on Knazul imān of Alahazrat:

لہٰذا یہ آیت اس آیت کے خلاف نہیں اِنْ اُمَّهٰتُهُمْ اِلَّا الّٰٓـِٔیْ
وَلَدْنَهُمْ کہ وہاں حقیقت کا حصر ہے لہٰذا ان کی بیٹیاں
مسلمانوں کی بہنیں اور ان کے بھائی مسلمانوں کے ماموں
نہیں ۱۱۔ یعنی میراث نسبی قرابتداروں کی ملے گی ۱۲۔ یعنی

> ...therefore, their daughters are not sisters of Muslims and their brothers are not the Uncles of Muslims...

There are many more affirmations but this sample of scholars from across the board makes the point clearly that the idea of khāl al-mu'minīn-maternal uncle of believers-for Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān is erroneous and if one must insist than it also extends to further relations such as Yazīd ibn Mu`āwīyah would be your maternal cousin ☺. However, we conclude this section with al-Maqrizī's insightful comments from his Imtā` al-Ismā`:

قال البيهقي : كذا في رواية الكلبي وذهب علماؤنا إلى أن هذا الحكم لا يتعدى أزواج النبي ﷺ فهن أمهات المؤمنين في التحريم ولا يتعدى هذا التحريم إلى إخوتهن ، ولا إلى إخواتهن ، ولا إلى بناتهن ، ومنع قوم من جواز تسمية معاوية خال المؤمنين بأن هذا أمر متبدع لم يطلقه عليه إلا الغلاه في موالاته حتى إنهم زعموا أنه دعى بذلك في عهد النبي ﷺ وبالغوا في الإفك حتى نسبوه إلى انه من قول الرسول ﷺ وليس لذلك أصل ، ولا عرف إطلاق ذلك في عصر الصحابة ، والتابعين ، فقد قتل محمد بن أبي بكر ولم يشنع أعداء معاوية إذ ذاك بأنه قتل خال المؤمنين ، وثار عبد الله بن الزبير بمكة على سويد بن معاوية ولم [يكثرت] بأنه ابن خالة المؤمنين ، ولا دعاه به أحد من الصحابة ، ولم يدع عبد الله بن عمر بخال المؤمنين ، ولا قيل قط لعبد الرحمن بن أبي بكر خال المؤمنين ، ولا يمتري عامه أهل العلم في أن منزلة عائشة وحفصة رضي الله تبارك وتعالى عنهما من رسول الله ﷺ كانت أعظم من منزلة أم حبيبة بنت أبي سفيان رضي الله تبارك وتعالى عنه ومع ذلك فلم يدع أحد من إخوتها بخال المؤمنين ، فكيف يطلق على معاوية بن أبي سفيان رضي الله تبارك وتعالى عنه خال المؤمنين ؟ ومنزلته ومنزلة أبيه من رسول الله ﷺ دون منزلة عبد الله بن عمر ومكانة عبد الله من العلم والورع والسابقة مكانة ، وهذه عائشة رضي الله تبارك وتعالى عنها تقول وقد قالت لها امرأة يا أمه : لست لك بأم ، إنما أنا أم رجالكم فعلمتنا بذلك معنى الأمومة تحريم نكاحهن وكذا لم ينقل أن

أحداً قال لأسماء بنت أبي بكر رضي الله تبارك وتعالى عنهما خالة المؤمنين .

> al-Bayhaqī has said: As it is in the report of al-Kalabī and our scholars have ruled that the wives of the Prophet ﷺ are mothers of believers due to the prohibition of marriage to them and this is not transitive to their relations such as daughters, brothers and sisters. And a large group of scholars have prohibited the title of maternal uncle of believers for Mu`āwīyah because this is an innovation and it should not be used for him though his extremist lovers use it and erroneously think that it was used for him in the times of the Prophet ﷺ and they have exaggerated so much in this lie that they falsely attributed it to the Prophet ﷺ and the matter is not as such and has no basis in Dīn. And it is not known to have been the case in the times of the ṣaḥābah or the tābi`īn. When Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr was killed by Mu`āwīyah, his enemies did not say that mu-āwīyah killed the uncle of the believers or when Abdullah ibn al-Zubayr rose up against Suwayd ibn Mu`āwīyah, they did not propagate that he was the son of the aunt of believers. None of the Ṣaḥābah

> called him by that title. And neither Abdullah ibn Umar is called the Uncle of believers nor indeed Abdurraḥmān ibn Abī Bakr is called the Uncle of the believers. The scholars do not consider that the status of `Ayesha and Ḥafṣah (raḍī Allah anhuma) is lesser than that of Umm Ḥabībah bint Abī Sufyān (raḍī Allah anhā) and also none of her other brothers is called the uncle of believers then how can Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān raḍī Allah anhu be called the uncle of believers? His status and his father's status to Rasūl Allah ﷺ is much less than that of Abdullah ibn Umar (radī Allah anhu); he is greater in knowledge, piety and early Islam than Mu`āwīyah. This is what `Āyesha (radī Allah anhā) said when a woman called her O Mother! She replied: I am not your mother but only the mother of your men. We know from this that the meaning of mother is due to prohibition of marriage to them and similarly it is not reported that anyone called 'Asmā bint Abī Bakr raḍi Allah anhā the aunt of believers.

If it is permissible to call someone the Uncle of Believers then Abdurraḥmān ibn Abī Bakr, Moḥammed Ibn Abī Bakr and Abdullah ibn Umar are more deserving of this title because their families married their daughters to the Noble Prophet ﷺ out of love and permission whereas Umm al-Mu'minīn Umm Ḥabībah married the Prophet ﷺ many years before Abū Sufyān and Mu`āwīyah had became Muslims, and there is an absolute agreement on this point. They were not pleased about this marriage, whereas, Umm al-Mu'minīn Ayesha and Umm al-Mu'minīn Ḥafṣah were married by their walīs with agreement, happiness and love. The Blessed Prophet ﷺ did not request the marriage from Umm Ḥabībah's parents nor were they happy about it on religious grounds. Imam al-Shāfi`ī in his Kitāb al-Umm, for example, unequivocally states about this marriage:

[٢١٩٥] وتزوج رسول الله ﷺ أم حبيبة بنت أبى سفيان وَوَلِىَ عُقْدَةَ (٥) نكاحها
ابن سعيد بن العاصى (٦) وكان مسلماً وأبو سفيان حى ، فدل ذلك على (٧) أن لا ولاية
بين أهل القرابة إذا اختلف الدينان وإن كان أباً ، وأن الولاية بالقرابة واجتماع الدينين .

> The Prophet ﷺ married Umm Ḥabībah the daughter of Abū Sufyān and her walī was Ibn Sa`īd who was a Muslim whilst Abū Sufyān was alive. This proves that there is no guardianship of relations when the father is a kāfir and the daughter is a Muslim. The guardianship of relatives is when their Dīn is the same.

This is just an example from Imam al-Shāfi`ī that the marriage between Rasūl Allah ﷺ and Ḥaḍrat Umm Ḥabībah was absolutely devoid of any role from her family. This also discards the Ḥadīth in Ṣaḥīh Muslim in which Abū Sufyān after becoming a Muslim at Fatḥ Makkah requests three things from the Prophet ﷺ amongst them is the request to marry his daughter Umm Habībah. This is against the historical consensus of all Muslims because Umm Habībah was already married to Rasūl Allah ﷺ for many years and this report about request to marry her by Abū Sufyān contradicts the mass transmission on the matter. However, this is not the space for a detailed study of that particular report. It has been proven from the prominent and reliable ahl al-Sunnah sources that the idea of uncle of believers for Mu`āwīyah is unjustified and rejected by authorities such as Imam al-Shāfi`ī. Moreover, if one was to entertain it then why are not the other greater personalities than Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān not called the Uncle of believers? The displeasure of Abū Sufyān and family at the marriage prior to accepting Islam can be gauged from the following oft-quoted incident. Here it is cited from Ibn al-Jawzī al-Ḥanbalī's Ṣifah al-Ṣafwah:

قال الزهري: لما قدم أبو سفيان بن حرب المدينة جاء الى رسول الله ﷺ وهو يريد غزو مكة، فكلّمه: أن يزيد في هدنة الحديبية. فلم يُقبل عليه رسول الله ﷺ، فقام ودخل على ابنته أم حبيبة، فلما ذهب ليجلس على فراش النبي ﷺ طوته دونه، فقال: يا بنية أرغبت بهذا الفراش عني أم بي عنه؟ فقالت: بل هو فراش رسول الله ﷺ وأنت امرؤ نجسٌ مشرك. فقال: يا بُنيّة لقد أصابك بعدي شرّ.

Al-Zuhrī said: Abū Sufyān came to Mecca requesting an extension to the treaty of Ḥudaybīyah but the Prophet ﷺ did not accept it as they had broken its terms. He went to see his daughter Umm Ḥabībah but when he wanted to sit on the bed of Rasūl allah ﷺ, she pulled the bed away from him. He said: O My daughter! Is the bed not suitable for me or am I not suitable for the bed? She said: this is the bed of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ and you are an impure mushrik. He said: O my daughter! You have been afflicted with evil after you left me.

In conclusion, the eminent scholars of ahl al-Sunnah have stated that it is impermissible to call anyone the Uncle of believers and if one was adamant then the more deserving are the ones who were happy, loving and in agreement about the marriage. This insistence upon this title also exposes the fact that there are no Ṣaḥīḥ excellences transmitted from the Blessed Messenger ﷺ particularly for Mu`āwīyah so this title is popularised to provide some sort of elevation and justification of what occurred between Imam Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān.

May Allah Not Fill His Belly!

There is only a single Ṣaḥīḥ Ḥadīth about Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān but its actual import is disputed. Without imposing our understanding upon the reader, both views will be presented and the reader can judge for herself. It is reported in various sources; here it is from Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim:

[6628] 96 - (2604) It was narrated that Ibn 'Abbâs said: "I was playing with some other boys when the Messenger of Allâh ﷺ came, and I hid behind a door. He came and patted me on the back, and said: 'Go and call Mu'âwiyah for me.' I came and said: 'He is eating.' Then he said to me: 'Go and call Mu'âwiyah for me.' I came and said: 'He is eating.' Then he said to me: 'Go and call Mu'âwiyah for me.' I came and said: 'He is eating.' He said: 'May Allâh never fill his belly.'"

[٦٦٢٨] ٩٦-(٢٦٠٤) حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ ابْنُ الْمُثَنَّى الْعَنَزِيُّ، وابْنُ بَشَّارٍ - وَاللَّفْظُ لِابْنِ الْمُثَنَّى - قَالَا: حَدَّثَنَا أُمَيَّةُ بْنُ خَالِدٍ: حَدَّثَنَا شُعْبَةُ عَنْ أَبِي حَمْزَةَ الْقَصَّابِ، عَنِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ، قَالَ: كُنْتُ أَلْعَبُ مَعَ الصِّبْيَانِ، فَجَاءَ رَسُولُ اللهِ ﷺ فَتَوَارَيْتُ خَلْفَ بَابٍ، قَالَ: فَجَاءَ فَحَطَأَنِي حَطْأَةً، وَقَالَ: «اذْهَبْ وَادْعُ لِي مُعَاوِيَةَ». قَالَ: فَجِئْتُ فَقُلْتُ: هُوَ يَأْكُلُ، قَالَ: ثُمَّ قَالَ لِي: «اذْهَبْ فَادْعُ لِي مُعَاوِيَةَ» قَالَ: فَجِئْتُ فَقُلْتُ: هُوَ يَأْكُلُ، فَقَالَ: «لَا أَشْبَعَ اللهُ بَطْنَهُ».

قَالَ ابْنُ الْمُثَنَّى: قُلْتُ لِأُمَيَّةَ: مَا حَطَأَنِي؟ قَالَ: قَفَدَنِي قَفْدَةً.

As you can see, Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān was called three times by Rasūl Allah ﷺ but he continued eating and did not respond to the call because he was eating. One of the earliest commentaries on Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, al-Mufhim, by al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū ‘l-Abbā al-Qurṭubī (d. 656) provides both interpretations:

و (قوله: «لا أشبع الله بطنه») يحتملُ أن يكونَ من نوع: «لا كَبُر سنُّك» كما قلناه، على تقدير: أن يكون معاويةُ من الأكل في أمر كان معذوراً به من شدَّة الجوع، أو مخافة فساد الطعام، أو غير ذلك، وهذا المعنى تأوُّلُ من أدخل هذا الحديث في مناقب معاوية، فكأنه كنَّى به عن أنه دعا عليه بسبب أمرٍ كان معذوراً

به، فحصل له من دُعاء النبيِّ ﷺ الكفَّارةُ والرحمة والقربة إلى الله تعالى التي دعا بها النبيُّ ﷺ كما ذكرناه. ويحتمل: أن يكونَ هذا الدعاءُ من النبيِّ ﷺ على حقيقته أدَباً لمعاوية على تثبُّطه في إجابة دعوة النَّبيِّ ﷺ. وإجابة دعوته ﷺ واجبةٌ على الفور، بدليل حديث أُبيٍّ الذي أنكر عليه في ترك إجابته، وكان أُبيٌّ في الصلاة.

And it is also possible to interpret the ḥadīth ‘May Allah not fill his belly’ from being the category of the ḥadīth ‘may you not advance in years’. It is possible that Mu`awīyah was extremely hungry or feared that his meal would go off or some other reason. This interpretation is preferred by those who include this ḥadīth in Mu`āwīyah’s praise as if it was a du`ā for him...

...It is also possible that this du`ā of the Prophet ﷺ is understood upon the obvious meaning and intended as a punishment because he delayed in responding to the call of the Prophet ﷺ because it is wājib to respond to the call of the Prophet ﷺ and the incident of Ubayy ibn Ka`b is a proof for this in which he delayed in responding to the call of the Prophet ﷺ whilst Ubayy was in the state of ṣalāh.

Here is that incident of Ubayy ibn Ka`b from an English translation of Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr:

Also, Imam Ahmad recorded that Abu Hurayrah said, "The Messenger of Allah went out while Ubayy bin Ka`b was praying and said, (O Ubayy!)

Ubayy did not answer him. The Prophet said, (O Ubayy!) Ubayy prayed faster then went to the Messenger of Allah saying, `Peace be unto you, O Messenger of Allah!' He said, (Peace be unto you. O Ubayy, what prevented you from answering me when I called you) He said, `O Messenger of Allah! I was praying.' He said, (Did you not read among what Allah has sent down to me,)

(Answer Allah (by obeying Him) and (His) Messenger when he () calls you to that which gives you life) He said, `Yes, O Messenger of Allah! I will not do it again.' the Prophet said,

Of the two legitimate possible interpretations proffered by al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū 'l-Abbā al-Qurṭubī al-Mālikī, the latter can be supported by a couple of authentic Ḥadīth which use the filling of belly in a positive sense and not filling the belly as punitive. It is authentically reported by al-Bayhaqī, Aḥmed, Ibn Abī Shaybah and Abū Da'ūd:

١٩٦٦٤ ـ أخبرناه أبو الحسين بن الفضل، أنبأ أبو عمرو بن السماك، ثنا محمد بن عبيد الله المنادي، ثنا عمر بن عثمان ابن أخي علي بن عاصم،/ ثنا معتمر بن سليمان قال: سمعت ابن أبي الحكم الغفاري يقول: حدثتني جدتي، عن عم أبي رافع بن عمرو الغفاري قال: كنت وأنا غلام ارمي نخلاً للأنصار فقيل للنبي ﷺ: إن ههنا غلاماً يرمي نخلنا قال: قال: خذوه فأتوني به قال: يا غلام لم ترمي نخلهم قال: إني أريد أن آكل قال: لا ترم نخلهم وكل مما في أصولها قال: ومسح رأس الغلام وقال: اللهم أشبع بطنه.

رواه أبو داود في السنن عن أبي بكر وعثمان ابني أبي شيبة عن معتمر بمعناه.

Abū Rāf`i said: when I was a boy, I used to throw stones at the date-palm trees of the Anṣār. I was brought to the Prophet ﷺ and He said: why are you throwing stones at the date-palm trees?' I said: 'So I can eat.' He said: 'Do not throw stones at the date-palm trees. Eat from what falls to the ground from them.' Then he patted me on the head and said: *'O Allah fill his belly*!

Rasūl Allah ﷺ used the expression of filling the belly without a negative particle as a du`ā and blessing for Abū Rāf`i al-Ghifārī. In another Ḥadīth in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim which mentions eating but not being filled in a negative sense:

كَمَا قَالَ: النَّبِيُّ ﷺ – وَإِنَّهُ مَنْ يَأْخُذُهُ بِغَيْرِ حَقِّهِ، كَالَّذِي يَأْكُلُ وَلَا يَشْبَعُ، وَيَكُونُ شَهِيدًا عَلَيْهِ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ».

[راجع: ٩٢١. أخرجه مسلم: ١٠٥٢].

He who takes it without his right is like one who eats but does not feel satisfied, and it would stand witness against him on the Day of Judgment.

However, whatever interpretation one prefers, it is clear as suggested by Imam al-Qurṭubī, the author of al-Mufhim, that there are two possibilities. The common sense view also supports the import that *May Allah not fill his belly* does not suggest praise. There are many Shī`ān-e-Mu`āwīyah speeches and conferences but have you heard them relate this Ḥadīth? It is indeed Ṣaḥīḥ but why do they not present it in their talks and speeches? It is obvious that the common sense dictates, it is not an excellence but rather a reprimand. Isḥāq ibn Rahwayh, the teacher of al-Bukharī, and other Ḥadīth scholars, as mentioned earlier, categorically stated that there is not a single Ṣaḥīḥ Ḥadīth in praise of Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān whilst knowing that *may Allah not fill his belly* was authentically reported.

The great muḥaddith al-Nasā'ī, whose work Sunan al-Nasā'ī is part of the Ṣiḥaḥ Sittah, was killed due to relating this Ḥadīth. It is stated by Ibn Khallikān, Ibn al-`Imād al-Ḥanbalī and here from pro-Umayyad al-Dhahabī's siyar ā`lām al-nubalā:

وقال الوزير ابنُ جِنْزابة(١) : سمعتُ محمدَ بنَ موسى المَأمونيّ - صاحب النَّسائي قال: سمعتُ قوماً يُنكرون على أبي عبد الرَّحمن النَّسائي كتاب: « الخصائص» لعليٍّ رضي الله عنه ، وتركَهُ تصنيف فضائل الشَّيْخَيْن ، فذكرتُ لهُ ذلك، فقال: دخلتُ دمشقَ والمُنْحَرِفُ بها عن عليٍّ كثير، فصنَّفت كتاب: « الخصائص »، رجوتُ أنْ يهديَهُمُ اللهُ تعالى. ثم إنَّه صنَّفَ بعد ذلك فضائل الصَّحابَة ، فقيل له وأنا أسمع : ألا تخرجُ فضائلَ معاويةَ رضي الله عنه ؟ فقال: أيَّ شيء أُخرج؟ حديث: «اللهُمَّ! لا تُشْبِعْ بَطْنَه»(٢). فَسَكت السَّائل .

al-Mā'mūnī, a companion of al-Nasā'ī, said that I heard a people renouncing al-Nasā'ī's book al-khaṣā'iṣ about the excellences of Alī (raḍī Allah anhu) and instead not writing a book about the excellences of al-Shaykhayn so I mentioned this to him. al-Nasā'ī replied: I entered Damascus and found a great many with animosity towards Alī so I authored 'al-khaṣā'ṣ' in order to guide them. After that I wrote about excellences of ṣaḥābah. It was said to him whilst I was listening: why did you not relate aḥādīth in praise of Mu`awīyah (raḍī Allah anhu). He replied: what ḥadīth shall I relate? Should I relate that "*May Allah not fill his belly"* after that the questioner became silent.

روى أبو عبدِ اللهِ بنُ مَنْدَة، عن حَمْزَةَ العَقبي المصري وغيرِه، أنَّ النَّسَائي خَرَجَ من مِصْرَ في آخِرِ عُمُرِهِ إلى دِمَشق، فسُئِل بها عن مُعَاوِيَة ، وما جاءَ في فَضَائِلِهِ ، فَقَال : لا(٢) يَرْضَى رأساً برَأسٍ حتى يُفضَّل ؟ قال : فما زالوا يَدْفَعُونَ في حِضْنَيْه(٣) حتى أُخْرِجَ من المسجد، ثم حُمِلَ إلى مكَّةَ فتوفِّي بها . كذا قال، وصوابُه: إلى الرَّمْلة .

al-Nasā'ī towards the end of his life travelled to Damascus from Egypt and there he was asked about Mu`āwīyah and about his virtues. He replied: if he is forgiven, it would be sufficient for him, let alone virtues? Then these people attacked him and he eventually died of those injuries.

It is clear and sufficient to express that neither al-Nasā'ī nor the Shāmī Nawāṣib considered *may Allah not fill Mu`āwīyah's belly* as a virtue. This tradition continues amongst the contemporary Shī`ān-e-Mu`āwīyah, who also abstain from openly relating the Ḥadīth in their gatherings and rather prefer to drum up the fabrications and weak narrations of Mu`āwīyah ibn Sufyān's praise whilst knowing that insatiable-belly Ḥadīth is the only authentic report. However, as a representative of those who consider the insatiable-belly ḥadīth as a virtue, we will just consider Salafist Wahābī favourite Ibn Kathīr's farfetched interpretation. He argues in his work al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah:

إنه يأكل فأخبرته ، فقال فى الثالثة : لا أشبع الله بطنه » قال : فما شبع بعدها ، وقد انتفع معاوية
بهذه الدعوة فى دنياه وأخراه ، أما فى دنياه فانه لما صار إلى الشام اميراً ، كان يأكل فى اليوم سبع
مرات يجاء بقصعة فيها لحم كثير و بصل فيأكل منها ، و يأكل فى اليوم سبع أكلات بلحم ، ومن
الحلوى والفاكهة شيئا كثيرا و يقول والله ما أشبع و إنما أعيا ، وهذه نعمة ومعدة يرغب فيها كل

...and the ḥadīth that may Allah not fill his belly and that he was never satiated after this pronouncement means that Mu`āwīyah benefitted from this du`ā in this World and in the hereafter. As for this world, when he became the ruler of al-Shām, he used to eat seven times a day. The bowl was brought to him full of a large quantity of meat and onions. He ate seven times a day a large amount from meat, desserts and fruits and used to say that By God! My belly is not full but I am tired of eating. and (Ibn kathir says) food is a form of blessing in which Kings are interested.

Ibn Kathīr further states:

وقال مغيرة عن الشعبي : أول من خطب جالساً معاوية حين كثر شحمه وعظم بطنه .

روى عن مغيرة عن إبراهيم أنه قال : أول من خطب جالساً يوم الجمعة معاوية

al-Sha`abī said that the first person in Islam to deliver the sermon whilst sitting was Mu`āwīyah due to having huge amount of fat and a enormous belly...also reported from Mughīrah that the first person to deliver the Friday sermon whilst sitting was Mu`āwīyah.

Ibn Kathīr has tried to interpret the Ḥadīth of Rasūl Allah ﷺ about Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān as result of not paying heed, three times, to the call of the Prophet ﷺ as a du`ā. But common sense dictates that continuously eating to get satiated was in vain and tiring, which also led to the changing of the practice of delivering the khuṭbah whilst standing. Hardly a du`ā? However, the readers can judge the matter for themselves, keeping in mind, the many aḥādīth on the instructions of Rasūl Allah ﷺ about eating.

Shī`ān-e-Mu`āwīyah's reliance on fabrications

Thus far, it has become obvious that prominent authorities of ahl al-Sunnah have categorically stated that there is nothing authentically related in praise of Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān from Rasūl Allah ﷺ. However, Shī`ān e Mu`āwīyah in order to build a case would go to unscholarly lengths to project his lofty status. Consider, just two examples of their sleight of hand. Firstly, Allamah Hāshmī Mīan Jīlānī Kachochwi in his book *Ḥaḍrat Amīr Mu`āwīyah Khalīfah Rāshid:*

آخرت میں حضرت معاویہ رضی اللہ عنہ پر انعامات الٰہی اور فیوض ربانی کا ذکر سرکار ابد قرار ﷺ ان الفاظ میں کرتے ہیں:

بعث معاویه یوم القیامة وعلیه رداء نور الایمان ۔ — اللہ تعالیٰ بروز قیامت معاویہ کو اس حالت میں اٹھائے گا کہ ان پر نور ایمان کی چادر ہوگی۔

Whilst mentioning the blessings and grace of God al-Mighty on Ḥaḍrat Mu`āwīyah (raḍī Allah anhu) the Prophet ﷺ expressed it in these words: God al-Mighty will raise Mu`āwīyah on the day of judgement in such a state that he will have the shawl of light of Imān on him.

This Ḥadīth is not weak but a blatant fabrication as attested to it by the prominent `Ulamā of Ḥadīth. It does not befit a scholar to pass on fabrications as facts, hence, verifying a lie attributed to the Blessed Prophet ﷺ. Without providing a huge list, here are just two references to prove that ḥadīth passed on as authentic by the prominent Shī`ān e Mu`āwīyah of our times, Allamah Hāshmī Mīan, is indeed a fabrication. Here, al-Shawkanī in his al-Fawāi'd al-Majmū`ah states:

١٥٤ — حديث : يبعث معاوية يوم القيامة وعليه رداء من نور الإيمان .
رواه ابن حبان عن حذيفة مرفوعاً . وقال : موضوع ، وفي إسناده : جعفر ابن محمد الأنطاكي ، يروي الموضوعات[1] .

Hadīth that Mu`awīyah will be raised on the day judgement with a cloak of light of Imān around him is reported by Ibn Ḥibban from Ḥudhayfah and Ibn Hibbān said that it is a fabrication. In its chain, Ja`far ibn muḥammad al-Anṭākī; who is a reporter of fabrications.

Ibn Ḥibbān (d. 354) first reports it and then declares it as a fabrication. Furthermore, the great early master of Ḥadīth evaluation Abū Ḥatim (d. 277) also declares it a fabrication. Ibn al-Jawzī al-Ḥanbalī in al-Maḍū`āt states:

الحديث الخامس فى أنه يقدم يوم القيامة وعليه رداء من نور : أنبأنا محمد
ابن أبى طاهر قال أنبأنا الحسن بن على عن أبى الحسن الدارقطنى عن أبى حاتم
ابن حبان حدثنا محمد بن المسيب حدثنا محمد بن عبيد الحانى حدثنا جعفر بن محمد
الأنطاكى عن زهير بن معاوية عن أبى خالد الوالبى عن طارق بن شهاب عن
حذيفة قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : « يبعث معاوية يوم القيامة وعليه
رداء من نور » .
قال أبو حاتم : هذا موضوع لا أصل له ، وجعفر يروى عن زهير الموضوعات .

The fifth ḥadīth that Mu`āwīyah will be raised on the day of judgement with a cloak of the light of Imān around him. Abū Ḥātim said that this is a fabrication and has no basis. Ja`far reports fabrications from Zuhayr.

It is sufficient to confrim that this ḥadīth is a fabrication as vouched for the by early ḥadīth masters yet we find that Shī`ān e Mu`āwīyah in their blind love would put aside principles and rules and rather misguide the masses with fabrications. Furthermore, the other prominent Shī`ān-e-Mu`awīyah of our times is Allamah Irfān Shah Mashhadī, who states in his booklet *Sayyidūna Amīr Mu`awīyah ahleḥaq kī Nazar mein:*

بچا۔ یہ بھی مروی ہے کہ رسول اکرم ﷺ نے حضرت معاویہ رضی اللہ تعالی عنہ کو ارشاد
فرمایا: اے معاویہ! تو مجھ سے ہے اور میں تجھ سے ہوں۔ پھر دستِ اقدس کی دو انگلیوں
کو درمیانی اور ساتھ والی انگلی کی طرف اشارہ کر کے فرمایا: جنت میں داخل ہوتے
وقت جنت کے دروازے پر میں تجھ سے اور تو مجھ سے اس طرح ملے ہوں گے جس
طرح یہ دونوں انگلیاں آپس میں ملی ہوئی ہیں۔

It is reported from Rasūl Allah ﷺ He said to Ḥaḍrat u`awīyah (raḍī Allah anhu) that O! Mu`awīyah! You are from me and I am from you and then He ﷺ lifted His hand and joined two fingers and said that at the door of paradise, I and you will be together like this as these two fingers are joined together.

It is the responsibility of a scholar to verify his evidence rather than create an impression with the sleight of hand and deliberately refer to an obscure source and suggest as if it is authentic. This narration is also a fabrication and not a weak Ḥadīth. Being blind in his love, the author would clutch at anything whilst forgetting that it is prohibited to attribute fabrications to the Noble Prophet ﷺ. Consider the ruling of the Ḥadīth masters about this Ḥadīth. Here from al-Dhahabī in mizān al-`Itidal and al-`Asqalanī in his Lisan al-Mizān, respectively:

٥٠٨٥ — عبد العزيز بن بَحْر المروزى . عن إسماعيل بن عياش بخبرٍ باطل ، وقد طعن فيه عباس الدُوْرى ، واللفظُ له ، وعبدالله بن أحمد ، وغيرهما ؛ قالوا : حدثنا عبد العزيز بن بحر ، حدثنا إسماعيل بن عياش، عن عبد الرحمن بن عَبْدالله بن دينار، عن أبيه ، عن ابن عُمر — أنّ رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال : الآن يطلع عليكم رجل منْ أَهْلِ الجَنَّةِ؛ فطلع معاوية ، فقال : أنت يامعاويةُ مِنِّى وأنا منكَ ، لتزاحمنِّى على باب الجنة كهاتين — وأشار بأصبعيه .

* — عبد العزيز بن بَحْر (١) المَرْوَزِي (٢) ، عن إسماعيل بن عياش، بخبرٍ باطل، وقد طُعن فيه.

قال عباس الدوري — واللفظُ له — وعبد الله بن أحمد، وغيرهما، قالوا: حدثنا عبد العزيز بن بحر، حدثنا إسماعيل بن عياش، عن عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن دينار، عن أبيه، عن ابن عمر رضي الله عنهما: «أن رسول الله صلَّى الله عليه وسلَّم قال: [الآن] (٣) يَطْلُع عليكم رجل من أهل الجنة، فطلع معاوية، فقال: أنت مني يا معاوية، وأنا منك، لتُزَاحمنِّي على باب الجنة كهاتَين، وأشار بإصبَعَيه»، انتهى.

al-Dhahabī and al-Asqalanī, both, declared that this ḥadīth about Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān that you are from me and I am from you and we will meet at the gates of paradise like these two joined fingers, is falsehood and fabrication. In the interest of brevity, it is clear that Shī`ān e Muāwīyah would go to any lengths to dig out fabrications in order to glorify their Imam. All this kind of narrations only serve the purpose of equating Mu`awīyah with Imam Alī and an effort to undermine the unique excellences of Imam Alī such as the identical one above. These people are indeed scholars and learned so why did they write such fabrications in their books? When there is a dearth of authentic reports then to make up for it, they relate fabrications. There could be an separate study of just this matter but given the limitations of this document, it is sufficient to provide the above snapshot of the stunts of Shī`an-e-Mu`āwīyah to illustrate the point.

Relating of fabrications attributed to Rasūl Allah ﷺ is ḥarām and our books of uṣūl have clearly stated the prohibition. Rather than cite those works here, just one reference, from Fatāwa Riḍawīyah of Alahazrat Ahmed Raza Khan, is provided:

روایاتِ موضوعہ پڑھنا بھی حرام سُننا بھی حرام ، ایسی مجالس سے اللہ عزّوجل اور حضورِ اقدس صلی اللہ تعالیٰ علیہ وسلم کمال ناراض ہیں ایسی مجالس اور اُن کا پڑھنے والا اور اس حال سے آگاہی پاکر بھی حاضر ہونے والا سب مستحق غضبِ الٰہی ہیں یہ جتنے حاضرین ہیں سب وبال شدید میں جدا جدا گرفتار ہیں اور ان سب کے وبال کے برابر اُس پڑھنے والے پر وبال ہے اور خود اُس کا اپنا گناہ اُس پر علاوہ اور ان حاضرین

It is Ḥarām to relate or listen to fabricated hadīth and it angers Allah (swt) and His Prophet ﷺ and those who know it is a fabrication will be punished by God and the one who relates it will be punished an equal amount to all those who listened to him put together...

The demand of Qiṣāṣ by Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān

The refusal to pay allegiance to Imam Alī by Mu`āwīyah was under the pretext of demanding the qiṣāṣ for Uthmān ibn `Affān. Though it must be noted that when Mu`āwīyah eventually became the ruler of Muslims after the abdication of Imam Ḥasan al-Mujtabā and controlled all the territories yet he did not seek out the murderers of Uthmān al-Ghanī. This is sufficient to prove that his rebellion was only for power as suggested by the raḍā'ī-brother of Uthmān ibn Affān as evidenced earlier. However, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmed al-Qurtabī al-Malikī in his monumental tafsīr al-jāmi` li-aḥkām al-Qur'ān and his work al-Tadhkirah answers the question; why Imam Alī did not pay heed to the demand of Mu`āwīyah. Here it is attached from the latter:

فالجواب: أنه لم يكن ولي دم، وإنما كان أولياء الدم أولاد عثمان، وهم جماعة: عمرو، وكان أسن ولد عثمان، وأبان وكان محدثاً فقيهاً، وشهد الجمل مع عائشة، والوليد بن عثمان، وكان عنده مصحف عثمان الذي كان(٦) في حجره حين قتل ومنهم الوليد بن عثمان.

ذكر ابن قتيبة في المعارف(٧) أنه كان صاحب شراب وقوة(٨)، ومنهم

سعيد(١) بن عثمان، وكان والياً لمعاوية على خراسان، فهؤلاء بنو عثمان الحاضرين(٢) في ذلك الوقت، وهم أولياء الدم دون غيرهم، ولم يتحاكم إلى علي واحد منهم، ولا نقل ذلك عنهم، فلو تحاكموا إليه لحكم بينهم، إذ كان أقضى الصحابة؛ للحديث المروي فيه عن رسول الله ﷺ.

وجواب ثانٍ: أنه لم يكن في الدار عدلان يشهدان على قاتل عثمان بعينه، فلم يكن له أن يقتل بمجرد دعوى في قاتل بعينه، ولا إلى الحكم في ذلك سبيل(٣)، مع سكوت أولياء الدم عن طلب حقهم، ففي تركهم له أوضح دليل، وكذلك فعل معاوية حين تمت له الخلافة وملك مصر وغيرها بعد أن قُتِلَ علي رضي الله عنه لم يحكم على واحد من المتهمين بقتل عثمان بإقامة قصاص وأكثر المتهمين من أهل مصر والكوفة والبصرة، وكلهم تحت حكمه وأمره وغلبته وقهره، وكان يدّعي المطالبة بذلك قبل ملكه، ويقول: لا نبايع من يؤوي(٤) قتلة عثمان، ولا يقتص منهم، والذي كان يجب عليه شرعاً أن يدخل في طاعة علي رضي الله عنه حين انعقدت بيعة خلافته في مسجد رسول الله ﷺ ومهبط الوحي، ومقر النبوة وموضع الخلافة لجميع من كان فيها: من المهاجرين والأنصار بطوع منهم وارتضاء واختيار وهم أمم لا يحصون، وأهل عقد وحل(٥)، والبيعة تنعقد بطائفة من أهل الحل والعقد(٦)، فلما بويع له رضي الله عنه طلب أهل الشام في شرط البيعة التمكن من قتلة عثمان وأخذ القود منهم، فقال لهم علي رضي الله عنه: ادخلوا في البيعة واطلبوا الحق [تصلوا إليه، فقالوا: لا تستحق البيعة وقتلة عثمان معك، تراهم صباحاً ومساءً، وكان علي في ذلك أسدَّ رأياً،

وأصوب قيلاً؛ لأن علياً لو تعاطى القود منهم لتعصب لهم قبائل، ويقع الطلب من الأولياء في مجلس الحكم فيجري القضاء بالحق.

قال القاضي أبو بكر بن العربي[1]: ولا خلاف بين الأمة أنه يجوز للإمام تأخير القصاص إذا أدّى ذلك إلى إثارة الفتنة،أو تشتت الكلمة؛ وكذلك جرى

The reply is that Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib was not the walī of the qiṣāṣ of Uthmān ibn Affān but his sons were the walī of his blood and they were a number of individuals. Amongst them `Amr ibn Uthmān was his elder son and Ibān ibn Uthmān who was a muḥaddith and a faqīh; who was at the battle of Jamal, present with `Ayeshah and third son was Walīd ibn Uthmān. At the time of death, the Qur'ān that Uthmān ibn Affān had was in the care of this son. Also there is another son whose name was also Walīd ibn Uthmān. Ibn Qutaybah has mentioned that he was ṣāḥib sharāb wa quwwa. The fifth son's name is Sa`īd ibn Uthmān who was a governor of Khurasān for Mu`āwīyah. These were the five sons of Uthmān and they were the only walīs of qiṣāṣ and it was their right. But none of them filed a case for qiṣāṣ with Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and there is nothing reported that they ever did. Had they filed a case to Alī, he would have indeed passed a judgement because He was better than all the ṣāḥābah to judge as Rasūl Allah ﷺ had said.

The second reply is that there was no particular person accused of the murder and it is required in sharī`ah that there ought to be two credible witnesses; which were lacking at the time of murder in the house. Therefore, how can Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib order the killing of someone without knowing who it was, just on the basis of someone's claim. And when the walīs of blood did not lodge a request for qiṣāṣ then how could Alī decide on his own? And the absence of demand from the walīs is a clear evidence for Alī. Also when Mu`āwīyah became the ruler of Egypt and other Islamic lands and had completed his rule over all areas and Alī had been martyred then Mu`āwīyah under his rule did not take any action against the accused though the majority of those were people of Egypt, Kufa and Baṣra and they were all under his rule and power whilst prior to that mu`āwīyah sought the qiṣāṣ. Before becoming the all powerful ruler, He kept saying that we will not pay allegiance to Alī because he has not taken qiṣāṣ for Uthmān. It was wājib upon Mu`āwīyah to do bayah of Alī because all those in Masjid Nabawī, the place of revelation, prophet hood and Caliphate. All those payed their allegiance to Alī and he should have also done bayah. All the Muhājirūn and Anṣār had done his bayah with happiness and free will. Those who payed allegiance to Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib belonged to diverse tribes and peoples in such a great number that we cannot count. And amongst them were ahl al-ḥall and `aqd and the allegiance only requires the people of ḥall and `aqd. When everyone had done their bayah and accepted Alī as their Caliph, the people of shām (mu`āwīyah) on the other hand, demanded that we will only do his bayah if our conditions are fulfilled that the murders of Uthmān be handed over to us and we are given powers to take revenge from them through qiṣāṣ. Alī (radī Allah anhu) replied that be amongst those who pay allegiance, and then file a case and your right will be granted. But they responded that you are not deserving of bayah, we see the killers of Uthmān hang around you, morning and evening. Alī was in the right because had Alī taken qiṣāṣ at the time, there would have been tribal warfare due to their prejudices so in order to preclude this third war, he waited until the government becomes strengthened and the matter of bayah is settled and then walīs bring their case of qiṣāṣ to the sharī`āh court and then the court would rule according to the Sharī`āh. al-Qaḍī Abū Bakr Ibn al-Arabī al-Malikī had said that the Ummah has agreed that for the fear of spreading fitna and causing national disagreement then the ruler can delay the decision on qiṣāṣ...

Imam al-Qurṭubī al-Mālikī has clearly explicated the issue of qiṣāṣ and it also further elucidates the ḥadīth of Rasūl Allah ﷺ as mentioned earlier that I ﷺ fought over the revelation of the Qur'ān and Alī will fight over the interpretation of the Qur'ān. However, Imam Ḥasan al-Mujtabā's Khilāfah Rāshidah was for six months and then Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān became the king and ruled for another twenty years with an iron grip and total control. The question that he had thousands of Muslims killed for his demand of qiṣāṣ but when he acquired absolute control then why did he not pursue that in courts and brought forward witnesses? This has also made by al-Qurṭubī above. The Ulamā of ahl al-Sunnah have replied to this question, to be concise, here are just two examples. Firstly, al-Mullā Alī al-Qārī al-Ḥanafī towards the end of his book Mirqāt al-Mafātīḥ Sharḥ Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ comments in light of the Ḥadīth about Ammār ibn Yāsir:

الخاص والعام. قلت: فإذاً كان الواجب عليه أن يرجع عن بغيه بإطاعته الخليفة ويترك المخالفة وطلب الخلافة المنيفة فتبين بهذا أنه كان في الباطن باغياً وفي الظاهر متستراً بدم عثمان مراعياً مرائياً. فجاء هذا الحديث عليه ناعياً وعن عمله ناهياً. لكن كان ذلك في الكتاب مسطوراً.

I say: when it was wājib for him (Mu`āwiya) to repent from his rebellion by paying allegiance to the Caliph and abandon his opposition...it became evident that inwardly he was a rebel and outwardly hiding behind the demand for the blood of Uthmān. This hadith deplores him and his actions...

So here, you have a clear judgement that the demand for the qiṣāṣ of Uthmān al-Ghanī was a pretext to attain power. Furthermore, Moḥammed al-Barzanjī al-Shāfi`ī comments in his famous work al-Ishā`ah li-ishrāt al-sā`ah:

وأما معاوية رضي الله عنه : فهو وإن كان باغياً لم يدخل في البيعة ، بل كان طالباً للمُلك ، وإنما جعل طلب الدم وسيلة إلىٰ طاعة أهل الشام له ، وقد ظهر له بغيه بقتل عمار بن ياسر(١) رضي الله عنه ، فأخبروه بأن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال لعمار : « إنما تقتلك الفئة الباغية »(٢) ، ولأنه لما تَولّىٰ بعد نزول الحسن رضي الله عنه عن الخلافة لم يَقتُل(٣) أحداً بدم عثمان رضي الله عنه ولا طالبه ، ولم يكن له سابقة ولا هجرة على الأصح ، فإنه من مُسلِمَةُ الفتح .

As for Mu`āwīyah (raḍī Allah anhu) he was a rebel because he did not pay allegiance but rather sought power and made the demand for qiṣāṣ as an excuse to subdue the people of Shām. His rebellion became evident with the murder of `Ammār ibn Yāsir (raḍī Allah anhu), the Prophet ﷺ informed him that he will be killed by rebels. When he (Mu`āwīyah) attained power after the abdication of al-Ḥasan (raḍī Allah anhu), he neither killed nor sought out anyone for the blood of Uthmān (raḍī Allah anhu). He did not have the status of being from the early Muslims nor from Muhājirūn but rather accepted Islam after the conquest of Mecca.

Arbitration

The episode of taḥkīm or arbitration in itself requires a separate study. However, Shī`ān-e-Mu`āwīyah advance the argument that we are instructed by the Qur'ān to fight the rebels until they return to the ordinance of God so why did Imam Alī accept the arbitration and discontinue fighting the Mu`āwīyah?

The reply is that when the Shāmīs raised the Qur'ān upon the spears to suggest that they want the matter to be decided by the Qur'ān and and this stage a dispute occurred in the forces of Imam Alī; they were divided. Imam Alī told them that this is **خديعة و دهنا و مكيدة** deception and fraud but they could not comprehend. Historians have stated that Imam Alī mentioned the names of the leaders in the Shāmī army and said that I know them, they are deceivers so do not be tricked by them. Shah Walī Allah Dehlavī in Izālah al-Khifā states:

بینهما مقتلة عظیمة دعوهما واحدة این کلمه اشارت
است بآنکه اہل شام مصحف برداشتند کہ درمیان ما و
شما این قرآن است و حضرت مرتضیٰ فرمود کہ این قرآ
قرآن صامت است و من قرآن ناطقم واخرج

When the Shāmī's raised the Qur'ān upon lances, and said that between us and you is this Qur'ān, to which Ḥadrat Murtaḍā replied: This is the silent Qur'ān and I am the speaking Qur'ān.

The interpretation and meaning of this is that I know the true meaning of the Qur'ān. But they were unable to comprehend the deception of the enemy with the raising of the Qur'ān so eventually Imam Alī said as mentioned by Ibn al-'Athīr, Ibn Khaldūn, al-Ṭabarī and here from Ibn Kathīr:

قال : فاحفَظُوا عنى نَهْيِى إيّاكم واحفَظُوا مَقالَتَكم لى ، أمّا أنا فإن تُطِيعُونى
فقَاتِلوا ، وإن تَعْصُونى فاصنَعوا ما بَدا لكم . قالوا : فابعَثْ إلى الأشْتَرِ فليأتِك

Alī said: remember my prohibiting you and also remember what you are saying to me, had you obeyed me, you would have continued fighting and if you are disobeying me then do what you want...

The classical heresiographer al-Shahristanī states in al-Milal wa'l-Niḥal:

، أن الخوارج حملوه على التحكيم أولاً

The first injustice the khawārij committed was to impose the arbitration upon Alī

However, the Shāmī deception succeeded in furnishing arbitration. The chosen candidate of Imam Alī was rejected by the khawārij in his army and the other person nominated was tricked by `Amr ibn al-`Āṣ. al-Dhahabī, for example, states in his sīyar `ālām al-nubalā:

فقال سعد بن أبي وقّاص: وَيْحَكَ يا أبا موسى ما أضعفك عن عَمْرٍو ومَكايده،

S`ad Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ said: O Abū Musa! What weakened you from the deceit of `Amr?

Ibn Abbās said:

فقال ابنُ عبَّاس: لا ذَنْبَ لك، الذَّنْب للَّذي قدَّمَك،

It is not your fault but those who put you forward

It is evident that Imam Alī did not accept the arbitration nor wanted to stop fighting. The argument that the shāmīs were not bāghīs goes against the explicit definition of a bāghī according to the eminent `Ulamā who defined bāghī as the one who disobeys the rightful Caliph and Mu`āwīyah and his party did not accept the obedience of the Khalīfah Rāshid and instead fought with him. If this is not rebellion then what is? The mutawātir hadīth as mentioned earlier clearly states that Ammār ibn Yāsir will be killed by the rebels. If the Shāmīṣ were not rebels then why did Rasūl Allah ﷺ foretell his martyrdom at the hands of the rebel party?

Imam Alī clearly told his army that do not fall for the deceit of the shāmīs and when they did not listen, he told them that remember my words and your actions. Then there came a time when the trickery of the shāmīs became evident so he asked his troops to fight the shāmīs again but they refused. Imam Alī postponed his fight with shāmī rebels since the khawārij were wreaking havoc so he dealt with them first and then after those campaigns he again intended to bring the shāmīs into the fold of obedience hence invited his army again. It is reported by al-Bājūrī in sīrah al-Khulafā and others. Here from Ibn Kathīr in his al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah:

: لمّا انصرَف عليٌّ، رضِى اللهُ

عنه، مِن النَّهْروانِ قام فى الناسِ خطيبًا، فقال بعدَ حمدِ اللهِ والثناءِ عليه والصلاةِ
علـى رسـولِ اللهِ ﷺ: أمَّا بعدُ، فإنَّ اللهَ قد أعزَّ نصرَكم فتوجَّهوا مِن فَوْرِكم

هذا إلى عدوِّكم مِن أهلِ الشامِ.

When Alī (raḍī Allah anhu) returned from his campaign against the Khawārij at Nahrawān, He delivered a sermon and after praising Allah (swt) and salutations upon Rasūl Allah ﷺ he said: Allah (swt) had helped you greatly therefore now, you should turn towards your shāmī enemy...

It is obvious that Imam Alī's intentions were that "until they turn towards the ordinance of God..." Ibn Ḥajr al-`Asqalānī in his al-Iṣābah explicitly states this fact while summing up:

سنة خمس وثلاثين؛ وكانت وَقْعة الجَمَل في جمادى سنة ست وثلاثين، ووَقْعَة صفين في
سنة سبع وثلاثين؛ ووقعة النهروان مع الخوارج في سنة ثمان وثلاثين ثم أقام سنتين يحرِّض
على قِتَال البُغَاة، فلم يتهيَّأ ذلك إلى أن مات.

...Jamal was in 36th AH, Ṣiffīn was in 37th AH and al-nahrawān against khawārij in 38th AH then in the last two years He kept rousing his troops to fight the rebels but this did not materialise until he died.

From the above-mentioned details, it is evident that Imam Alī did not accept the arbitration and all along, He had the intentions to fight the rebels and bring them towards the ordinance of God. Furthermore, the shī`ān-e-mu'āwīyah have also argued from the following fabrication in order to glorify their Imam and demean Imam Alī. In his tafsīr, Tibyān al-Qur'ān, Allamah Ghulam Rasūl Sa`īdī states:

حضرت رویم رضی اللہ عنہ بیان کرتے ہیں کہ نبی صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم کے پاس ایک اعرابی آیا اور کہنے لگا: یا رسول اللہ! مجھ
سے کشتی لڑیئے' حضرت معاویہ نے کھڑے ہو کر کہا: میں تم سے کشتی لڑوں گا' نبی صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم نے فرمایا: معاویہ ہرگز کبھی
مغلوب نہیں ہوگا' پھر حضرت معاویہ نے اس اعرابی کو پچھاڑ دیا' جنگ صفین کے دن حضرت علی رضی اللہ عنہ نے کہا: اگر مجھ سے
اس حدیث کا پہلے ذکر کیا جاتا تو میں معاویہ سے جنگ نہ کرتا۔ (تاریخ دمشق ج ۶۲ ص ۶۱۔ رقم الحدیث: ۱۳۳۶۵)
نبی صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم نے اس حدیث میں حضرت معاویہ کے لیے جو دعا فرمائی اُسی کا اثر تھا کہ حضرت علی رضی اللہ عنہ اسد
اللہ الغالب ہونے کے باوجود حضرت معاویہ کو مغلوب نہ کر سکے۔

Ibn `Asākir reports that Urwa ibn Ruwaym said that a bedouin came to the Prophet ﷺ and said O! Messneger of Allah! have a wrestle with me? So Mu`āwīyah stood up and said I will wrestle you. The Prophet ﷺ said you will not win over Mu`āwīyah and then Mu`āwīyah defeated the Bedouin. On the day of the battle of Ṣiffīn. Ḥaḍrat Alī (raḍī Allah anhu) said that had I known this ḥadīth before, I would not have fought Mu`āwīyah. Allama Saeedī then says: the effect of the du`ā of the Prophet ﷺ was such that Ḥaḍrat Alī the lion of God could not even defeat Mu`āwīyah.

It is not strange that the shi`ān-e-mu`āwīyah would utilize fabricated reports to justify their point of view. About the above narration, for example, here is what al-Zarqānī al-Mālikī says in his commentary on al-Mawāhib:

أبدًا)، وهو معضل كما علمت، بل قيل إنه موضوع، ولوائح الوضع ظاهرة فيه، فإن عليًا ما رجع
عن رأيه، بل كان عازمًا على قتاله، ثم شغله عنه قتال الخوارج كما بين في التواريخ.

As you know, this ḥadīth is mu`ḍal (with consecutive missing chain) and it is said that it is a fabrication and the indications of concoction are obvious. Alī never retracted from his view but rather he had definite intentions to fight Mu`āwīyah and then he was occupied with fighting the khawārij as it is clear in the books of history.

Even if we entertain the idea and overlook the fabrication aspect, it would still not render it sufficient because Mu`āwīyah did not wrestle Imam Alī. However, interestingly Mu`āwīyah was scared to face Imam Alī. Ibn Kathīr states in al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah that it is related by many historians and other `Ulamā that at Ṣiffīn Imam Alī challenged Mu`āwīyah to a dual and said that O Mu`āwīyah! Why are you having people killed, come and fight me yourself? At this point, `Amr ibn

al-`Āṣ said to Mu`āwīyah, this is an opportunity for you as Alī has fought many people already and he must be tired so finish him off today, to which Mu`āwīyah replied:

يامعاويةُ ! ابرُزْ إليَّ ولا تُفْنِ العربَ بيني وبينَك . فقال له عمرُو يا معاويةُ اغتَنِمْه فإنَّه قد أثخَن بقتْلِ هؤلاءِ الأربعةِ . فقال له معاويةُ : واللّهِ لقد علِمْتُ أنَّ عليًا لم يُقهَرْ قطُّ ، وإنَّما أردتَ قَتْلِي لتُصِيبَ الخلافةَ مِن بعدِي ، اذْهَبْ إليك ! فليس مِثلي يُخدَعُ .

...By God! indeed you know that Alī has never been defeated and you just want me to be killed so after me, you attain the rule. You go and fight him, you cannot fool me.

Peace Treaty of Imam Ḥasan al-Mujtabā

The Noble Messenger ﷺ had foretold as mentioned in an earlier section above that Khilāfah after Me ﷺ will be for thirty years and then there will be 'biting-kingship'. Imam Ḥasan al-Mujtabā was elected by the ṣaḥābah after the martyrdom of Imam Alī and remained as khalīfah Rāshid for six months and exactly after thirty years, he handed over the rule to Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān. Of the various reasons, one was that Imam Ḥasan did not want to be an oppressive ruler as the Prophet ﷺ had stated. However, Imam Ḥasan's handing over the power also exposed the pretext of demanding the qiṣāṣ for Uthmān ibn `Affan because once acquiring the total control, he did not pursue the case for qiṣāṣ as he himself had demanded from Imam Alī; which demonstrates that all along it was the quest for power. This latter point has also been addressed in a previous section.

Furthermore, Imam Ḥasan handed over the reign because to protect the lives of Muslims and not because Mu`āwīyah was more deserving. He was bent upon shedding more blood and Imam Ḥasan did not want the blood to be spilled. Otherwise, if it was due to capacity then there were other prominent senior Ṣaḥābah such as Sa`d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Sa`īd ibn Zayd, both from asharah mubashirah, who were more deserving than Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān but since Mu`āwīyah had military force hence to prevent further bloodshed, Imam Ḥasan abdicated upon some conditions. The motivation of Imam Ḥasan according to Ṣaḥīḥ Ḥadīth upon the conditions of al-Bukhārī and Muslim as vouched for by al-Dhahabī in his Talkhīs. al-Ḥākim reports in his al-Mustadrak:

٤٧٩٥ / ٣٩٣ ـ أخبرني أبو الحسن محمد بن عبدالله اليعمري ، ثنا محمد بن إسحاق الإمام ، ثنا أبو موسى ، ثنا محمد بن جعفر ، ثنا شعبة قال : سمعت يزيد بن خمير يحدث أنه سمع عبد الرحمن بن جبير بن نفير يحدث عن أبيه قال : قلت للحسن بن علي إن الناس يقولون إنك تريد الخلافة فقال : قد كان جماجم العرب في يدي يحاربون من حاربت ويسالمون من سالمت تركتها ابتغاء وجه الله تعالى وحقن دماء أمة محمد ﷺ ثم ابتزها باتئاس أهل الحجاز .

هذا إسناد صحيح على شرط الشيخين ولم يخرجاه .

٤٧٩٥ ـ قال في التلخيص : على شرط البخاري ومسلم .

> Jubayr ibn Nafīr says that I asked al-Ḥasan ibn Alī that people say that you desire the caliphate? He replied: I had the necks of the arabs in my control and they would have fought whomever I fought and made peace with whomever I made peace. I only left the power for the pleasure of Allah and to prevent the bloodshed of the Ummah of Moḥammed ﷺ.

It is obvious that Imam Ḥasan had the larger interest of the Ummah at hand and not because Mu`āwīyah was more deserving. He was adamant upon fighting, had the peace treaty was not accepted. Had the rule been handed over to someone who did not have an army and a threat of bloodshed of Muslims then one can say that such a person was deserving. Furthermore, al-Dhahabī in his Sīyar, for example, reports that when a man questioned Imam Ḥasan's judgement:

وذكر كلاماً يعتذر به، ﷺ. وقال له آخر: يا مُـذِلَّ المؤمنـين! فقـال:
لا، ولكن كرهتُ أن أقتُلكم على الملك.

> You humiliated the Mu`minīn! He replied: No, but I did not want to fight over kingship.

Imam Hasan did not prefer kingship over Khilāfah Rāshidah but rather desired to prevent bloodshed of Muslims. He preferred the lesser of two evils. When faced with two calamities, it is wise to choose the lesser one. Ibn al-Wazīr in his al-`Awāṣim wa'l-Qawāṣim states:

ولم يزَلِ العُقَلاءُ يدفعون المضرَّة العُظمى بما دونها،

The wise always prefer the lesser of two evils

Hence, Imam Ḥasan had the option of bloodshed of Muslims or handing over power to Mu`āwīyah and he preferred the latter though both were not the ideal options. `Izz al-Dīn ibn `Abd al-Salām in his al-Qawā`id al-kubrā has a heading to a section:

في تنفيذ(٢) تصرف البُغاة وأئمة الجَوْر لما وافقَ الحقّ
لضرورة العامة

To appoint rebels and tyrannical rulers for the greater good of people

It is obvious that unjust people and rebels are disliked but for the greater good, one has to put up with the smaller calamity. And the person to whom Imam Ḥasan handed over the reign has been explicitly declared as unjust and rebel by the great Imams of ahl al-Sunnah as you will see towards the end of this document. However, Ibn al-'Athīr al-Jazarī in Usud al-Ghābah relates a lengthy statement of Imam Hasan in which He says:

، ألا وإن معاوية دعانا إلى أمر ليس فيه عز ولا نَصَفَة.

> Mu`āwīyah has invited us to a matter in which there is neither honour nor justice.

Thus, on one side it was shedding the blood of Muslims and on the other signing a peace treaty with Mu`āwīyah on conditions and handing over the rule of Muslims. Imam Ḥasan preferred

the latter because of it being the lesser of two calamities, which He himself admitted. The love and care of ahl al-Bayt for the Ummah can be illustrated from the following example of the Prophet Ḥaḍrat Sulaymān ع as reported in al-Bukhārī and Muslim:

> **Narrated Abu Huraira:**
>
> Allah's Messenger (ﷺ) said, "My example and the example o the people is like that of a person who lit a fire and let the moths, butterflies and these insects fall in it." He also said, "There were two women, each of whom had a child with her. A wolf came and took away the child of one of them, whereupon the other said, 'It has taken your child.' The first said, 'But it has taken your child.' So they both carried the case before David who judged that the living child be given to the elder lady. So both of them went to Solomon bin David and informed him (of the case). He said, 'Bring me a knife so as to cut the child into two pieces and distribute it between them.' The younger lady said, 'May Allah be merciful to you! Don't do that, for it is her (i.e. the other lady's) child.' So he gave the child to the younger lady."

Did you reflect, why the younger lady was prepared to give the child to the other lady? Because it was her child and the life of the child was more important than the custody. Similalry, Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān did not have a greater right to the rule of the Ummah but rather Imam Ḥasan could not see the further destruction and bloodshed of the Ummah of His Grandfather ﷺ so agreed to abdicate that at least it will survive. His intention was the protection of the Ummah of Rasūl Allah ﷺ.

Various sources detail many conditions of this treaty but here two are mentioned to make a relevant point. Abū al-Fidā, Ibn Kathīr, al-Dhahabī, Ibn al-Wardī, Ibn Asakir state these conditions and here from Imam Ibn al-'Athīr al-Jazrī's al-Kāmil:

وكان الذي طلب الحسن مِنْ معاوية أنْ يعطيه ما في بيت مال الكوفة ومبلغه خمسة آلاف ألف(١)، وخراج « دارابجرد » مِنْ فارس، وأنْ لا يُشْتَم عليًّا. فلم يجبه إلىٰ الكفّ عَنْ شَتْم عليّ، فطلب أنْ لا يُشْتَم وهو يسمع فأجابه إلىٰ ذلك ثم لم يَفِ له به أيضاً.

(١) لِيُعلم أنّ الحسن رضي الله لم يطلب ذلك لنفسه، ولكن علم أنّ بني أمية يحرمون مَنْ نَصَرَ عليّاً رضي الله عنه وقاتل معه فاشترط ذلك ليمدهم به وهو تصرف في غاية الذكاء.

Al-Ḥasan demanded from Mu`āwīyah that he should give five hundred thousand from the treasury of Kufā (1).... and that they would not abuse Alī but they did not agree to stop cursing Alī and so He demanded that at least not abuse Alī in our presence and they accepted this condition but later they did not fulfil this.

(1) The researcher comments: al-Ḥasan (raḍī Allah anhu) did not demand the money for himself but he knew that Umayyads would make it difficult for those who had helped Alī (raḍī Allah anhu) and this was to help them....

More could be said on this matter of cursing Imam Alī and ahl al-bayt as our books ḥadīth and history are full of these details but it is sufficient to state that Umayyad rulers as a state policy continued the tradition of cursing Imam Alī from the pulpits with the exception of Umar ibn `Abd al-Azīz. However, Imam Ḥasan was content about the agreement of conditions such as the rule would not remain with Umayyads after Mu`awīyah and so on but after the agreement, `Amr ibn al-`Āṣ devised a plan to humiliate Imam Ḥasan. Here from Sīyar of al-Dhahabī with an authentic chain of transmission:

واجتمع عليه الناس، قال له عمرو بنُ العاص: إن الحسنَ مرتفعٌ في الأنفس لقرابته من رسول الله ﷺ، وإنه حديث السنّ عَييٌّ، فمره فليخطُب، فإنه سيعيى، فيسقط من أنفس الناس، فأبى فلم يزالوا به

`Amr ibn al-`Āṣ said to Mu`āwīyah due to his closeness to Rasūl Allah ﷺ he has an elevated status amongst people but he is young and hesitates in speech, ask him to address the people and he will hesitate so people will look down upon him....

Then Mu`āwīyah asked Imam Ḥasan to stand up and speak to people and during his speech, Imam Ḥasan said:

خيرٌ ﴿وَمَا أدري لَعَلَّه فِتنَةٌ لَكُمْ وَمَتَاعٌ إِلى حِينٍ﴾، وأشار بيده إلى معاوية. فغضب معاويةُ، فخطب بعده خطبةً عييةً فاحشة، ثم نزل. وقال: ما أردت بقولك: فتنة لكم ومتاع؟ قال: أردتُ بها ما أراد الله بها.

Imam Ḥasan read the verse of the Qur'ān "I know not, perhaps it is a fitna for you and enjoyment for a while" and whilst reading the verse Ḥasan pointed at Mu`āwīyah which angered him. After that Mu`āwīyah delivered a speech but he was under pressure and when he came off the pulpit and asked Ḥasan: what did you mean by fitna and enjoyment? He replied: I meant what Allah meant by it.

In this speech, Imam Ḥasan recited the verses of the Qur'ān to criticise Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān and bring to mind when Imam Ḥasan pointed at him whilst reciting the verses. In the version of this incident in Ibn `Asākir, Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān got so angry that asked Imam Ḥasan to stop his speech and then kept being angry at Amr ibn al-Āṣ. al-Qāḍī Thanāullah Pānī Patī al-Ḥanafī in his al-Sayf al-Maslūl says:

الضرورات تبيح المحظورات انعقاد اجماع بر خلافت معاويه براه دفع فتنه شده است

Necessities makes the prohibited lawful and the agreement on the caliphate of Mu`āwīyah was due to elimination of fitna.

Furthermore, It is reported in Musnad of Aḥmed, al-Nasā`ī, Ibn Abī Shaybah and here the relevant part from Sunan of Abū Dā`ūd with an authentic chain of transmission:

قال: «هُدْنة على دَخَنٍ، وجماعةٌ على أقذاء، فيها ـ أو فيهم ـ» قلتُ: يا رسولَ اللهِ، الهدنةُ على الدَّخَنِ ما هِيَ؟ قال: «لا ترجِعُ قلوبُ أقوامٍ على الذي كانت عليه» قال: قلتُ: يا رسولَ اللهِ، بعدَ هذا الخيرِ شرٌّ؟

Rasūl Allah ﷺ said: there will be a bitter illusory truce and there will be bitterness in the unity. Hudhayfah said: what is the meaning of an illusory truce: He ﷺ said: the state in which the people were in before, their hearts will not return to it...

What truce is meant in this Ḥadīth? There are many opinions about it. Shah Walī Allah Dehlavī says in his Ḥujjah Allah al-Bālighā:

وهدنة على دخن: الصلح الذي وقع بين معاوية والحسن بن علي رضي الله عنهما

A bitter illusory truce is the peace treaty between Mu`āwīyah and Ḥasan ibn Alī (radi Allah anhuma)

It is obvious that the person who desired power was happy with the truce therefore the other person was not happy about it but only agreed to it to safeguard the bloodshed of the Ummah of His Grandfather ﷺ. He abdicated upon some conditions for the person, even though there were Ṣaḥābah better than him and more worthy of the caliphate. Badr al-Dīn al-`Aynī relates the Ḥanafī position on truce and peace treaty:

وقال اصحابنا يجوز الصلح مع الكفار بمال يؤخذ منهم او يدفع اليهم اذا كان الصلح خيرا في حق المسلمين

Our Ḥanafī Imams have said that it permitted to enter into a peace treaty with non-muslims either giving them some money or taking some money as long as such a truce is beneficial for the Muslims.

In the matter under discussion, both parties were Muslims though there were great ṣaḥābah present who could have become caliphs but Mu`awīyah ibn Abī Sufyānhad brought an army so to protect the blood of Muslims, Imam Ḥasan deemed it better to enter into a peace treaty. The attitude of Imam Ḥasan al-Mujtabā can be illustrated from an incident to serve as a metaphor for the entire discussion. After the peace treaty when Imam Ḥasan intended to travel to Medina, Mu`āwīyah devised a plan to send him to fight the Khawārij but Imam Ḥasan replied that it is better to fight you than the khawārij. Amongst the earliest grammarians and historian, al-Mubarrad (d. 285) in his famous work al-Kāmil relates:

وقيسَ بنَ سعْد بنِ عُبَادَة ، ثم خرج الحسنُ يريدُ المدينة ، فوَجَّهَ إليه معاوية وقد تجَاوَزَ في
طريقه يسألُه أن يكُون الْمُتَولي لمُحَارَبتهم ، فقال الحسنُ : والله لقد كَفَفْتُ عنـك لِحَقْن
دماءِ المسلمينَ ، وما أحْسبُ ذلك يَسَعُني ، أفَأُقَاتلُ عنـك قوماً أنـتَ والله أوْلَـى بالقتـال
منهم ؟ ! فلمَّا رجَعَ الجوابُ إليه وَجَّهَ إليهم جيشًا أكثرُهُ أهْلُ الكوفةِ ، ثم قال لأبيـهِ أبي

After the treaty, when al-Ḥasan was on his way to Medina, Mu`āwīyah followed him and asked him to lead the fight against the khawārij. Al-Ḥasan replied: By God! I only stopped fighting you to prevent the bloodshed of Muslims and I do not consider it appropriate, should I fight a people because of you? By God! it is better to fight you than the khawārij.

This epitomises the attitude of Imam Ḥasan al-Mujtabā about Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān and Imam Ḥasan's motivation in abdication.

Why did Imam Ḥasan accept stipends from Mu`āwīyah

This is an oft quoted argument of the Shī`ān-e-Mu`āwīyah that if Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān was a bāghī and unjust then why did Imam Ḥasan receive money from Mu`āwīyah? First of all, the treasury was not the property of Mu`āwīyah Ibn Abī Sufyān nor belonged to his father's inheritance, it belonged to the Muslims and ought to be spent on them. Due to being an insignificant point in the larger scheme, a short reply is provided in the words of the prolific classical Ḥanafī Imam, Abū Bakr al-Jaṣṣāṣ (d. 370). He explains why the Ṣaḥāba, Tābi`īn and Imam Ḥasan and Imam Ḥusayn received allowances from oppressors. In his `Aḥkām al-Qur'ān, al-Jaṣṣāṣ says:

رزقا رزقنيه الله منك والسلام وقد كان الحسن وسعيد بن جبير والشعبي وسائر التابعين
يأخذون أرزاقهم من أيدي هؤلاء الظلمة لا على أنهم كانوا يتولونهم ولا يرون إمامتهم
وإنما كانوا يأخذونها على أنها حقوق لهم في أيدي قوم فجرة وكيف يكون ذلك على وجه
موالاتهم وقد ضربوا وجه الحجاج بالسيف وخرج عليه من القراء أربعة آلاف رجل
هم خيار التابعين وفقهاؤهم فقاتلوه مع عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن الأشعث بالأهواز ثم بالبصرة
ثم بدير الجماجم من ناحية الفرات بقرب الكوفة وهم خالعون لعبد الملك بن مروان
لاعنون لهم متبرئون منهم وكذلك كان سبيل من قبلهم مع معاوية حين تغلب على الأمر
بعد قتل علي عليه السلام وقد كان الحسن والحسين يأخذان العطاء وكذلك من كان في
ذلك العصر من الصحابة وهم غير متولين له بل متبرئون منه على السبيل التي كان عليها
علي عليه السلام إلى أن توفاه الله تعالى إلى جنته ورضوانه فليس إذاً في ولاية القضاء
من قبلهم ولا أخذ العطاء منهم دلالة على توليتهم واعتقاد إمامتهم * وربما احتج بعض

> al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Sa`īd ibn Jubayr, al-Sha`abī and the tabi`īn received allowances from tyrants but not due to their friendliness towards them nor considering them as legitimate rulers. They accepted the stipends because it was their right, which at the time was in the possession of the oppressors and the wicked. How could it be based on affection whilst they were faced with the sword of Ḥajjāj; four thousand qurrā' from tābi`īn and among them jurists fought alongside abd al-Raḥmān ibn Moḥammed ibn al-'Ash`ath at al-Ahwāz then at Baṣrah and then Dīr al-Jamājam near Euphrates at Kufa. They broke their allegiance to abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, and they cursed and did tabarra from them. Similarly, before them people had a similar attitude towards Mu`āwīyah when he acquired the reign after the murder of Alī (alayhi al-salām) and al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn and other ṣaḥābah received stipends from him whilst they were not friendly towards him rather they did tabarra (disassociated themselves from him) in the same manner as Alī (alayhi al-salām) did before He was taken to paradise and to the pleasure of Allah. Hence, becoming judges under them and receiving allowances does not mean that they were affectionate towards them or accepted their reign as legitimate.

The explanation by Abū Bakr al-Jaṣṣāṣ al-Ḥanafī is self-explanatory and provides sufficient response to the argument from stipends.

The phrase Mawlā Alī

The level of knowledge and study of Muftī Abū Layth is such that he says that the phrase 'Mawlā Alī' is Shiī`āh and has no basis in the Qur'ān and Sunnah. With this preposterous claim even his fellow Wahābīs will disagree. However, Rasūl Allah ﷺ in a mutawātir Ḥadīth had explicitly stated that "Whoever's Mawlā I am, Alī is his Mawlā" so this term Mawlā for Imam Alī was sanctioned by the Blessed Prophet ﷺ Himself. Amīr al-Mu'minīn Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was present at the time and said that Alī my mawla and the mawlā of all believers. Since this is a relatively insignificant point, so I will just provide evidence for the authentication of this Ḥadīth. Two authors, for example, wrote on mutawātir Ḥadīth, namely, al-Suyūṭī and al-Kattānī. Their works respectively are: *qaṭf al-azhār al-mutanāthirah fī al-akhbār al-mutawātira* and *naẓm al-mutanāthir min al-ḥadīth al-mutawātir*. In both books, they have decalared the Ḥadīth mutawātir as well as referring to earlier muhaddithūn. Here, I will just cite one reference from al-Kattānī which should be adequate for Muftī Abū Layth to begin calling Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib as Mawlā Alī:

من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه .

أورده فيها أيضاً من حديث :

١ — زيد بن أرقم . ٢ — وعلي .
٣ — وأبي أيوب الأنصاري . ٤ — وعمر .
٥ — وذي مر . ٦ — وأبي هريرة
٧ — وطلحة . ٨ — وعمارة .
٩ — وابن عباس . ١٠— وبريدة
١١— وابن عمر . ١٢— ومالك بن الحويرث
١٣— وحبشي بن جنادة . ١٤— وجرير
١٥— وسعد بن أبي وقاص . ١٦— وأبي سعيد الخدري .
١٧— وأنس . ١٨— وجندع الأنصاري .

(ثمانية عشر نفساً) .

وعد عدة من أصحاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ، أنهم سمعوا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقوله وعن أثني عشر رجلا منهم :

١٩ — قيس بن ثابت . ٢٠— وحبيب بن بديل بن ورقاء .

وعن بضعة عشر رجلا منهم :

٢١— يزيد أو زيد بن شراحيل الأنصاري .

(قلت) ورد أيضاً من حديث :

٢٢— البراء بن عازب . ٢٣— وأبي الطفيل .
٢٤— وحذيفة بن أسيد الغفاري . ٢٥— وجابر .

وفي رواية لأحمد ، أنه سمعه من النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ثلاثون صحابياً ،

It says that the ḥadīth *'man kunto mawlāhu fa Alī mawlahū'* whoever's mawlā I am, Alī is their Mawlā is reported by twenty-five ṣaḥābah. This is the strongest ḥadīth in terms of transmission upon the standards of ḥadīth classification. It amazes me that someone claiming to be a *Muftī* does not know about it. Strange.

Historiographical Framework

This section ought to have been addressed at the inception of this document but in the interest of a direct response at the outset, it had to be postponed towards the end. It is a common ailment that people rather than responding to the argument are quick to dismiss a reporter as shī`āh. I have consciously attempted herein not to include a report in which a reporter is accused of being shī`ah to the best of my knowledge or from a source other than ahl al-Sunnah. Mostly, we have relied upon Salafist Wahābī favourite pro-Umayyad scholars such as Ibn Kathīr, al-Dhahabī in order to counter the accusation of shī`ah reports. The arguments advanced by Muftī Abū Layth as substantiated are typical Nāṣibī arguments fashioned in the mould of Ibn Taymīyah's school of thought hence an effort was made to only justify, where possible, from his clique.

In an attempt to discredit the narrative presented by the great earlier muḥaddithūn and historians, the wahābīs label certain reporters as shī`ah and then outrightly reject everything. Not with standing the fact that even if those reporters were shī`ah, it does not prove that they were liars. One has to only study the narrators in the six books and you would discover that a huge number were stated as shī`ah narrators but judged to be truthful. Not only that but there is a significant number of nawāṣib and khawārij transmitters considered to be pristine, just see Ṣaḥīh al-Bukhārī. However, I have attempted not to present any shī`ah reporter to justify a point. But the insight into Muftī Abū Layth mindset here is that these same people would have you feel sad for the imprisonment of Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal, and Ibn Taymīyah, and maltreatment of Mālik ibn Anas by the Abbasids but when one relates the trials and tribulations of Imam Ḥusayn ibn Alī, for example, they criticise the narrative and portray it as insignificant in terms of an Islamic outlook. Unfortunately, there is a tiny minority amongst the Ḥanbalī and Mālikī school of thought who were nawāṣib.

Prior to specific details, it is important to distinguish that the terms shī`āh and rāfiḍī are used interchangably nowadays but in their classical usage those who cursed and abused Amīr al-Mu'minīn Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq and Amīr al-Mu'minīn Umar al-Fārūq were called rāfiḍī and those who loved the ahl al-Bayt dearly were considered shī`āh. Hence, those on the side of Imam Alī were called Shī`āh of Alī and those on the side of Mu`āwīyah were called Shī`āh of Mu`āwīyah. However, In Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah by Imam Abū Ya`la it states that Imam Aḥmed Ibn Ḥanbal was asked who is a rāfiḍī:

وأنبأنا الخطيب أبو الحسين عن أبى حفص بن شاهين حدثنا اسمعيل بن على
حدثنا عبد الله بن أحمد بن حنبل قال : سـألت أبى عن الرافضى ؟ قال : الذى
يسب أبا بكر وعمر رضى الله عنهما .

Abdullah ibn Ahmed Ibn Ḥanbal said: I asked my father about who is a rāfiḍī? He replied: a rāfiḍī is the one who curses/reviles Abū Bakr and Umar (raḍi Allah anhumā).

So, a rāfiḍī is defined by Imam Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal as the one who curses and reviles the Shaykhayn Karīmayn and Imam al-Shāfi`ī had also stated the same, see Sīyar Ālām al-Nubalā. The term shī'āh on the other hand in the understanding of the mutaqddimūn, the early scholars, had a different meaning. Ibn Ḥajr al-`Asqalānī states in his Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb:

فالتشيع في عرف المتقدمين هو اعتقاد تفضيل علي على عثمان و ان عليا كان مصيبا في حروبه و ان مخالفه مخطئ مع تقديم الشيخين و تفضيلهما و ربما اعتقد بعضهم ان عليا افضل الخلق بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم واذا كان معتقد ذلك و رعا دينا صادقا مجتهدا فلا ترد روايته بهذا لا سيما

> Being a shīʿah in the connotation of early scholars meant those who consider Alī superior to Uthmān and that Alī was right in his campaigns and those who opposed him were mistaken whilst believing that Shaykhayn were the rightful Caliphs and superior to Alī and sometimes, some believed that Alī was the most superior after Rasūl Allah ﷺ. If one has such a belief and is truthful and pious, his reports are accepted...

This is clear that unless a reporter was a rāfiḍī as the term shī`ah was equated with it later then his report is not accepted but if he was a shī`ī in the sense as stated by al-`Asqalānī then there is no prohibition. Even some eminent ḥadīth scholars used the term lightly and were reprimanded by other senior `Ulamā. To illustrate this point, let us cite an example, from the above list provided by al-`Asqalānī. al-Bayhaqi in his Manāqib al-Shāfi`ī and al-Rāzī in his Manāqib al-Shāfi`ī relate the bias of Ibn Ma`īn against Imam al-Shāfi`ī in which he called him a Shī`āh because he considered Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān as a baghī/rebel. Here quoted from al-Bayhaqī:

ومما(٣) حكى عن أبي داود السجستاني أن « أحمد بن حنبل » أخبر أن « يحيى بن معين » ينسب « الشافعي » إلى التشيع ، فقال له أحمد : تقول هذا لإمام من أئمة المسلمين ؟

فقال يحيى : إني نظرت في « كتابه(١) في قتال أهل البغي » فإذا قد احتج من أوله إلى آخره بعلي بن أبي طالب .

فقال أحمد بن حنبل: عجباً لك ! فبمن كان يحتج الشافعي في قتال أهل البغي، وأول من ابتلي من هذه الأمة بقتال أهل البغي علي بن أبي طالب ؟ وهو الذي سنّ(٢) قتالهم وأحكامهم . ليس عن النبي ، صلى الله عليه وسلم ، ولا عن الخلفاء غيره ـ فيه سنة ، فبمن كان يستنّ ؟ فخجل يحيى من ذلك(٣) .

> Abū Dā'ūd reports from Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal that Yaḥya ibn Ma`īn called al-Shāfi`ī a shī`ah. So Ibn Ḥanbal replied: you are saying this about an Imam of Muslims? Ibn Ma`īn replied: I have read the chapter of bāghīs/rebels in his book and from begining to end and he takes Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib as a proof. Ibn Ḥanbal replied: I am surprised at you; who else would al-Shāfi`ī justify his rulings against the bāghīs/rebels other than Alī? He was the first to have encountered the bāghīs. Alī is the one whose Sunnah we have about the rules of engagement with rebels. It is neither reported from Rasūl Allah ﷺ nor from the example of earlier Khulafāh. After hearing this Yaḥyā ibn Ma`īn became ashamed.

The term was an arbitrary one according to hadīth scholars and the jurists corrected them. Imam Shāfi`ī was called a shī`ah for declaring those who fought Imam Alī as rebels and Imam Aḥmed had to correct Ibn Ma`īn for his erroneous judgement and instead also agreed with al-Shāf`ī. This also seems to be the attitude in today's world where the nawāṣib are declaring the ahl al-Sunnah as shī`ī. The trigger happy attitude of labelling ḥadīth reporters as ṣḥī`ī without an understanding of the actual nature of their association and then rejecting their reports is unfair. It seems that whoever was associated with ahl al-Bayt had a greater scrutiny than others. The name of Ṣaḥābah is only employed when it means personalities other than the ahl al-bayt. For example, Abū al-Ṭufayl Āmir ibn al-Wāthilah was a Ṣaḥābī who accompanied Rasūl Allah ﷺ for eight years and he was the last Ṣaḥābī who lived upon this earth as he was last of them to die. See what they say about a ṣaḥābī. Ibn Ḥajr al-`Asqalānī in his Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb:

وذكر البُخَارِيُّ في «التاريخ الصغير» هذا الحديث عن
عَمرو بن عَاصم، وقال: الأول أصح، يعني قوله: أدركت
ثمان سِنين من حَياة النَّبيِّ ﷺ.

> al-Bukhārī in his al-Tārīkh al-Ṣaghīr said that most authentic position is that (Abū Ṭufayl) accompanied the Prophet ﷺ for eight years.

There is no dispute that Abū Ṭufayl was much more senior than the Ṭulaqā category and higher in status. But this is what they say about him:

وكان أبو الطُّفيل ثقةً في الحديث، وكان مُتشيعاً.

> Abū Ṭufayl was authentic in transmission of ḥadīth and he was a shī`ī

Never mind Imam al-Shāfi`ī, here we have a senior companion of Rasūl Allah ﷺ being labelled as a shī`ah. Strange how these people treat those who love the ahl al-Bayt. What about all ṣaḥābah are `udūl/just in Ḥadīth transmission? There is no discussion on their authenticity but we have these scholars entertaining this discussion and saying he was thiqah...and labeled him as shī`ī. Imagine, if a person had labelled Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān as a Nāṣibī? But, because when it comes to association with ahl al-Bayt then it seems that scholars seem to have a licence.

It seems to me that being a shī`ī is arbitrary and people have vented their anger at those who loved the ahl al-bayt dearly to the extent of accusing them. The truth is that in the earlier ages those who loved the ahl al-bayt were called a shī`ī in the sense of shī`ān of Alī and shī`ān of Muāwīyah. Imam Shāfi`ī was called a shī`ah for declaring those who fought Imam Alī as bāghīs whereas it is ahl al-sunnah. A Ṣaḥābī is accused of being a shī`ī for his love of ahl al-Bayt. On the other hand, we

have them reporting from those who sent curses upon Imam Alī such as ḥarīz ibn uthmān, imrān ibn khaṭṭān, etc. However, their issue with Abū al-Ṭufayl, who accompanied Rasūl Allah ﷺ for eight years, perhaps, was his belief in tafḍīl that Imam Alī Abī Ṭalib was the most excellent of all the Ṣaḥābah. He spent eight years with Rāsūl Allah ﷺ and then lived through the Rāshidūn Caliphate and was the last Ṣaḥābī to have lived on this Earth. It is stated in all major works of biographies of Ṣaḥābah such al-Isti`āb of Ibn Abd al-Barr, al-Iṣābah of al-`Asqalānī and here from Usud al-Ghābah of Ibn al-`Athīr:

وكان أبو الطفيل من أصحاب علي المحبين له، وشهد معه مشاهده كلها، وكان ثقة مأموناً يعترف بفضل أبي بكر وعمر وغيرهما، إلا أنه كان يُقَدِّمُ علياً.

توفي سنة مائة، وقيل: مات سنة عشر ومائة، وهو آخر من مات ممن رأى النبي ﷺ.

Abū al-Ṭufayl was from the lovers of Alī and participated in all his campaigns and he was trustworthy and reliable, he acknowledged the excellences of Abū Bakr and Umar and other Ṣaḥābah but considered Alī to be the most excellent. He died in the 100th year after Hijrah...and he was the last Ṣaḥābī to die.

Nevertheless, In the subcontinent, the Wahābīs such as Iḥsān Ilahī Ẓahīr wrote a book called al-Baraylawīyah in which he declared Alaḥazrat Aḥmed Riḍā Khan as shī`ī; which is far from the truth. For example, prior to a list of reasons for being a shī`ah, he writes:

نعم إن المخالفين يقولون : إنه من أسرة شيعية أظهر تسننها تقية للإضرار بهم ويستدلون على ذلك بأمور =

His opponents say that he is from a Shī`ī family and only displaying being Sunnī under taqīyah and here are the reasons which demonstrate that he was a shī`ah...

It seems as if whoever does not fit in someone's home-made definition of ahl al-Sunnah then the easy route is to label them as shī`ah; which in our context means rafiḍī. It is usually nawāṣib who have infiltrated ahl al-Sunnah and are now busy in expelling Sunnis, out of ahl al-Sunnah.

Dishonest Accusations of being Shī`ī

In the contemporary world, we have dishonest scholarship. In the past, scholars levelled accusations of being a shī`ah on erroneous interpretations but today we have scholars who out rightly and unashamedly deceive the innocent Muslims. For example, There is a book called Mizān al-Kutub by "Shaykh al-Hadīth" Moḥammed Ali Lahorī (father of Qārī Ṭayyab Naqshbandī) who in his book has declared the unanimously agreed upon great Imams of ahl al-Sunnah as Shī`ah. Allamah Moḥammed Ali Lahorī is supposed to belong to ahl al-Sunnah but surprisingly in the introduction prints a recommendation for his book by the sipah-e-ṣaḥābah; the prominent Nāṣibī Wahābī Takfīrī group:



يا الله مدد

حقیقی اسلام و مذہب اہل السنت والجماعت زندہ باد

آئین تحفظ ختم نبوت زندہ باد

اصلی کلمہ اسلام :- لا الہ الا اللہ محمد رسول اللہ

حق چار یار

خلافت راشدہ

شائع کردہ :- تحریک خدام اہل سنت چکوال ضلع جہلم فون نمبر ۳۰

تحریک خدام اہل سنت کی طرف سے آپ کی ان عظیم تصنیفات کی مبارک ہو

نظام خلافت راشدہ زندہ باد

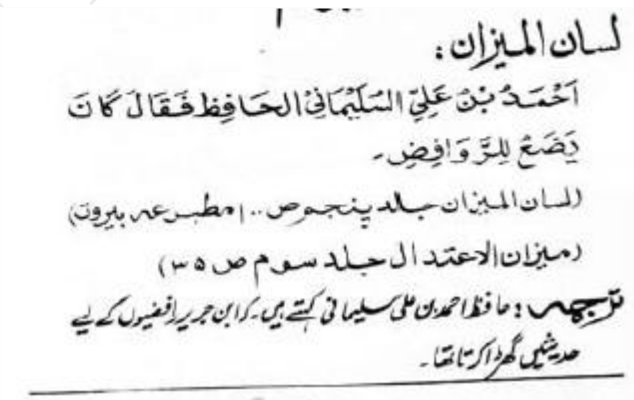
بندہ عاجز کی طرف سے اپنی ان عظیم تالیفات کی مبارک قبول فرمائیں۔

بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم

بخدمت محترم حضرت مولانا علامہ شیخ الحدیث محمد علی صاحب مدظلہ (وکیل صحابہ)

مجاہد اسلام بانی و مہتمم جامعہ رسولیہ شیرازیہ بلال گنج لاہور۔

However, concisely, I will just cite an example from Mizān al-kutub of the dishonesty of the author. Imam Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310) is the author of first tafsīr available to us and one of the earliest comprehensive works of history. He was a great Imam of ahl al-sunnah yet Allama Lahorī deliberately hacks the full quote and declares him a shī`ah just because he has related the faḍā'il of ahl al-Bayt. Here it is from mizān al-kutub:



لسان المیزان:

أَحْمَدُ بْنُ عَلِيِّ السُّلَيْمَانِي الحَافِظ فَقَالَ كَانَ يَضَعُ لِلرَّوَافِضِ۔

(لسان المیزان جلد پنجم ص ۱۰۰ مطبوعہ بیروت)

(میزان الاعتدال جلد سوم ص ۳۵)

ترجمہ: حافظ احمد بن علی سلیمانی کہتے ہیں کہ ابن جریر رافضیوں کے لیے حدیثیں گھڑا کرتا تھا۔

It is stated in Lisān al-Mizān and Mizān al-`Itidāl that Aḥmed ibn Alī al-Sulaymānī al-ḥāfiẓ said that Ibn Jarīr used to fabricate ḥadīth for the rawāfiḍ.

The author clearly gives the impression by quoting Lisān al-Mizān of Ibn Ḥajr al-`Asqalānī and Mizān al-`Itidāl by al-Dhahabī that Imam Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī was a rāfiḍī and fabricated Ḥadīth for them. But here is the actual quote from Lisān al-Mizān:

٦٥٧٩ ـ صح ـ محمد بن جرير الطَّبَرِيُّ، الإمام، أبو جعفر(٢)، صاحبُ التصانيف الباهرة، مات سنة عشر وثلاثمائة.
ثقة صادقٌ، فيه تشيُّع يسير، وموالاةٌ لا تضرّ. أقذع أحمد بنُ علي السُّليماني الحافظ، فقال: كان يضع للروافض، كذا قال السليماني، وهذا رجمٌ بالظن الكاذب.

بل ابنُ جرير من كبار أئمة المسلمين المعتَمَدين، وما ندَّعي عصمتَه من الخطأ، ولا يحل لنا أن نؤذيَه بالباطل والهَوَى، فإن كلام العلماء بعضهم في بعض ينبغي أن يُتأنّى فيه، ولا سيما في مثل إمامٍ كبير.

فلعل السليمانيَّ أراد الآتيَ [٦٥٨٠]، انتهى.

Moḥammed ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī was the Imām and author of many works, he died in 310 AH. He was trustworthy and truthful and dearly loved (mild tashayyu) the ahl al-bayt and there is no harm in loving the ahl al-bayt. Aḥmed ibn Alī al-Sulaymanī al-ḥāfiẓ *slandered* him and said he fabricated hadīth for rawafiḍ...and this accusation is based on falsehood. But rather Ibn Jarīr is from the great trustworthy Imāms of Muslims. We do not claim he was infallible but it is not permissible for us to offend with falsehood and whims.....perhaps, it is possible that al-sulaymānī meant a different person with the identical name who was a rāfiḍī, discussed next under number 6580.

Similarly, the other reference Molvī Moḥammed Alī Lahorī quotes from al-Dhahabī's mizān al-`Itidāl is identical to the one above by al-`Asqalānī:

أقْذَع أحمد بن على السُّليمانى الحافظ ، فقال : كان يضَع للروافض ، كذا قال السليمانى : وهـذا رَجْمٌ بالظنّ الـكاذب ، بل ابن جرير مِنْ كِبار أئمة الإسلام المعتمدين ، وما ندّعى عِصمته مِنَ الخطأ ، ولا يحلّ لنا أن نُؤْذيه بالباطل والهوَى ؛ فإنّ كلام العلماء بعضهم فى بعض ينبغى أنْ يُتَأَنّى فيه ، ولا سيا فى مثل إمامٍ كبير؛ [فلعلّ السليمانى أراد الآتى](٣) .

On one side we have the dishonest Allama Lahorī hacking the quote with his hand and presenting it as if al-Asqlānī and al-Dhahabī declared Imam al-Ṭabarī as a rāfiḍī. But the matter is contrary to what Lahorī says. They condemned al-Sulaymānī for slandering and instead refuted him and said that al-Ṭabarī was truthful, trustworthy and from the great Imāms of Muslims and also said

that al-Sulaymānī, perhaps, was commenting about a rāfiḍī scholar with exactly the same name Moḥammed Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī whose biographical details are presented immediately after Imam al-Ṭabarī. It is obvious for anyone to see that how dishonestly Moḥammed Alī Lahorī changed the quote and tried to deceive the masses as if Imam al-Ṭabarī was a rāfiḍī. In lisān al-mizān and mizān al-`Itidal they defended Imam al-Ṭabarī from the allegation and slander levelled against him but we have the nawāṣib just stating the accusation and trying to create a false impression. Unfortunately, this methodology continues in their quarters. Imagine if he could doctor such a huge accusation then what about all else that he has written.

A note on Abū Mikhnaf

The tragedy of Karbalā is a momentous event in the history of Islam and the historiographical accounts based on earlier monographs and sources were incorporated in the famous annalistic history books available to us, authored by classical Sunni historians and writers. Some nawāṣib actively question, one of the early sources about Karbalā by accusing the narrator Abū Mikhnaf (d. 157) of being a shī`ah. Who was a contemporary of Imam Abū Ḥanifah in Kufa. Usually, the Taymī`ite school in order to question the parts of the narrative of Karbalā and Ṣiffīn criticise Abū Mikhnaf. Though, I have deliberately not utilized in this document any historical reports of Abū Mikhnaf about Ṣiffīn but briefly it is appropriate to provide an argument for his reliability in matters related to history.

The prominent early historians of Islam unanimously have agreed and reported from Abū Mikhnaf such as al-Madā'inī, Ibn Sa`d, al-Balādhurī, al-Ṭabarī, al-Khara'iṭī, Ibn Shabbah, al-Ḥākim, Abū Nu`aym, Ibn Abd al-Barr and others. Abū Mikhnaf was a specialist historian and not a muḥaddith. In other words, in history he was more learned than al-Bukhārī and al-Bukhārī was better than him in ḥadīth. His great great grandfather was from Ṣaḥābah whose name was Mikhnaf ibn Sulaym and took part in the campaigns with Imam Alī. He was appointed the governor of al-Iṣfahān by Imam Alī. Abū Mikhnaf died in 157 AH and lived close to the times of ṣaḥābah. The accusation of being a shī`ah due to his love of ahl al-bayt and not because he was a rāfiḍī. He also wrote about the martyrdom of Uthmān ibn Affān in a positive and sympathetic manner, for example, refer to Ibn Shabbah's reports.

This subject, again, requires a separate study but I will just provide two references of his reliability. Ibn Ḥajr al-`Asqalānī in Fatḥ al-Bārī, whilst deciding upon the correct date of demise of Rasūl Allah ﷺ rejects all other dates including that stated by al-Bukhārī (d. 256)and argues that the relied upon date is that which is given by Abū Mikhnaf (d. 157):

عشرة ليلة ، ومات يوم الاثنين لاثنتى عشرة مضت من ربيع الاول ، فيرد على هذا الإشكال المتقدم ، وكيف يصح
أن يكون أول صفر الأحد فيكون تاسع عشرينه الأربعاء ؟ والفرض أن ذا الحجة أوله الخميس ، فلو فرض هو
والمحرم كاملين لكان أول صفر الاثنين ، فكيف يتأخر إلى يوم الأربعاء ، فالمعتمد ما قال أبو مخنف ، وكأن سبب
غلط غيره أنهم قالوا مات فى ثانى شهر ربيع الأول فتغيرت فصارت ثانى عشر ، واستمر الوهم بذلك يتبع بعضهم
بعضا من غير تأمل ، والله أعلم . وقد أجاب القاضى بدر الدين بن جماعة بجواب آخر فقال : يحمل قول الجمهور

Indeed, the narration of Abū Mikhnaf is preferred by al-`Asqalānī because he was a historian and not because he was a muḥaddith and this is the point. It is the matters of history and not ḥadīth that the eminent historians unannimously relied upon him. Furthermore, he was a contemporary of

the Ḥanafī Imams such as Imam Abū Ḥanīfah and Imam Moḥammed ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī; who also lived in Kufa. One of the pillars of Ḥanafī school, Imam Moḥmmed al-Shaybānī and student of Imam Abū Ḥanīfah, for example, has no qualms about reporting a matter of history regarding the murder of Ḥaḍrat Ḥujr ibn Addī from Abū Mikhnaf. Imam al-Ḥākim in his al-Mustadrak reports:

٥٩٧٨/١٥٧٦ - أخبرني أحمد بن عثمان بن يحيى المقري ببغداد، ثنا عبيد الله بن محمد البريدي، ثنا سليمان بن أبي شيخ، ثنا محمد بن الحسن الشيباني، ثنا أبو مخنف: أن هدبة بن فياض الأعور أمر بقتل حجر بن عدي فمشى إليه بالسيف فارتعدت فرائصه فقال: يا حجر أليس زعمت أنك لا تجزع من الموت فإنا ندعك فقال: ومالي لا أجزع وأنا أرى قبراً محفوراً وكفناً منشوراً وسيفاً مشهوراً وإنني والله لن أقول ما يسخط الرب قال: فقتله وذلك في شعبان سنة احدى وخمسين.

Moḥammed ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī reports from Abū Mikhnaf....

Thus, it stands to reason that prominent classical Sunnī historians and jurists have deemed him reliable in the matters related to reporting of history. The objection on Abū Mikhnaf was raised by Muftī Abū Layth and even though I have not cited any report from him in this document but this is to point out that matters are not as simple as the mutawakkalī contention.

The Mutawakkalī Naṣibīs

There is a tiny minority in the Ḥanbalī and Mālikī scholarship, for instance, who glorify the enemies of ahl al-bayt and downplay their excellences and side with their opponents. For instance, It is unanimous amongst the historians that al-Mutawakkil was a nāṣibī of the highest order yet we have the Ḥanbalīs singing his praises. It is stated by Ibn al-Jawzī al-Ḥanbalī in his al-Muntaẓam, al-Dhahabī in his Sīyar, Ibn Kathīr in his al-Bidāyah, al-Suyūṭī in his Tārīkh al-Khulafā' that al-Mutawakkil was a hater of ahl al-bayt and he demolished the blessed grave of Imam al-Ḥusayn, razed it flat and cultivated land for farming upon it. Here it is quoted from Imam Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī's al-Kāmil:

ذكر ما فعله المتوكل بمشهد الحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام

في هذه السنة أمر المتوكل بهدم قبر الحسين بن علي عليه السلام وهدم ما حوله من المنازل والدور وان يُبذر ويُسقى موضع قبره وأن يمنع الناس من إتيانه، فنادى بالناس في تلك الناحية من وجدناه عندُ قبره بعد ثلاثة حبسناه في المطبق، فهرب الناس وتركوا زيارته وخرب وزرع، وكان المتوكل شديد البغض لعلي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام ولأهل بيته، وكان يقصد من يبلغه عنه أنه يتولى علياً وأهله بأخذ المال والدم، وكان من جملة ندمائه عبادة المخنث وكان يشد على بطنه تحت ثيابه

مخدة ويكشف رأسه وهو أصلع ويرقص بين يدي المتوكل والمغنون يغنون: قد أقبل الأصلع البطين خليفة المسلمين، يحكي بذلك علياً عليه السلام والمتوكل يشرب

ويضحك

> In the year 236 AH, al-Mutawakkil ordered the demolition of the grave of al-Ḥusayn ibn Alī (alayhi al-salāma) and also the houses and buildings surrounding it. He ordered that seeds should be sown there and water to be run upon it, and that the people should be refrained from visiting his grave. In that district it was announced that, If we find anyone around his grave after three days, we shall throw him into an underground dungeon.
>
> People dispersed and avoided the ziyārah, and then it was destroyed and ploughed. Mutawakkil bore intense enmity with Imam Ali bin Abi Talib (a.s.) and his family, then whoever reached him, who was from among the lovers of Ali (alayhi al-salām) and that of his family, he would confiscate his wealth and kill him. One of his attendants named Ubadah, the eunuch (al-Mukhannath), would tie a pillow upon his stomach below his clothes and bare his bald pate and come to Mutawakkil and dance, while the callers would say "Here is the pot-bellied one, the caliph of the Muslims".
>
> They meant imitating Alī (alayhi al-salām) while Mutawakkil would be consuming wine and laughing.

There is no dispute about al-Mutawakkil being a heinous nāṣibī and demolisher of the grave of Imam Ḥusayn. Yet, we have prominent Ḥanbalīs eulogising him through Imam Aḥmed Ibn Ḥanbal. For example, see from al-Khallāl's al-Sunnah:

قائم بأمر الله(٧)، ثم ذكر المتوكل. فقال: لقد أمات عن الناس أموراً قد
كانوا أحدثوها من درس الإسلام وإظهار المنكر، قلت: فتراه مَن أولى

الحق؟ قال: أليس قال النبي ﷺ: «مَن أحيا سنّة من سنّتي قد أُميتت
فقد أظهر ما أظهره»(١). وأيّ بلاء كان أكثر من الذميّ كان أحدث عدو
الله وعدو الإسلام في الإسلام من إماتة السنّة(٢) ـ يعني الذي قبل
المتوكل ـ فأحيا المتوكل السنّة رضوان الله عليه»(٣).

> ... Imam Aḥmed Ibn Ḥanbal said about al-Mutawakkil: he revived and publicly proclaimed the Sunnah and abolished heresies, May Allah be pleased with him.

It is most likely an attribution to Imam Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal but nāṣibī strand echoes this attitude towards him and Ibn Taymīyah says in his majmū al-Fatāwā:

سنة، في أواخر خلافة المأمون، وخلافة أخيه المعتصم، والواثق بن المعتصم، ثم إن الله
تعالى كشف الغمة عن الأمة، في ولاية المتوكل على الله ، الذي جعل الله عامة خلفاء

> Then Allah (swt) removed affliction upon the Ummah with the caliphate of al-Mutawakkil.

al-Mutawakkil's animosity towards ahl al-bayt can also be gauged from the famous incident, reported by prominent Sunnī authorities, in which he asks the tutor of his children Ibn al-Sikkīt: who is more beloved to you, my two children or Ḥasan and Ḥusayn? Ibn al-Ṣikkīt replied that never mind Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, the slave of Alī, Qanbar is dearer to me than your two sons. al-Mutawakkil had Ya`qūb ibn al-Sikkīt killed on the spot. The point here is that just because al-Mutawakkil brought an end to the inquisition of Imam Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal, there is a tendency among some Ḥanbalīs to glorify this nāsibī by declaring him the reviver of the Sunnah whilst ignoring his abhorrent attitude towards the ahl al-Bayt.

It is this mindset that excuses the enemies of ahl al-bayt and impugns those who love them under the pretext of calling them shī`ah. Whereas the term shī`ī in the classical connotation largely means those who deeply love the family of the Prophet ﷺ and *not* used as meaning rāfiḍī; which some nowadays suggest to reject a ḥadīth reporter. We have dealt with this point in a previous section. For now, the purpose here is to demonstrate Ibn Taymīyah al-Ḥanbalī's attitude towards Imam Alī though he has been refuted earlier about his argument on the participants from Ṣahābah in the battle of Jamal and Ṣiffīn.

In his work minhāj al-sunnah, Ibn Taymīyah in his refutation of rawāfiḍ, crossed the boundary and not only rejected pristinely authentic aḥādīth in praise of ahl al-bayt but also criticised the ahl al-bayt. For an objective analysis, Ibn Ḥajr al-Asqalanī says in his Lisān al-Mīzān that al-Subkī refuted Ibn Taymīyah for his aqīdah and when I read his book, I also found it as al-Subkī had said. Towards the end of the passage, he says:

ولَزِمَ من / مبالغته لتوهين كلام الرافضي الإفضاءُ أحياناً إلى تنقيص علي، وهذه الترجمة لا تحتمل إيضاح ذلك وإبراز أمثلته.

In his exaggeration in the refutation of the rāfiḍī, at times, he disparaged Alī and this is not the place for those details.

In his other work, al-Durar al-Kāminah; where he writes a small biography of Ibn Taymīyah, al-`Asqalānī says:

و قال فى حق علي اخطأ فى سبعة عشر شيئا

He said that Alī made seventeen mistakes

لا يمذ ر (٣) و منهم من ينسبه الى النفاق لقوله فى علي ما تقدم ولقوله انه كان مخذولا حيث ما توجه و انه حاول الخلافة مرارا فلم ينلها وانما قاتل للرياسة لا للديانة و لقوله انه كان يحب الرياسة وان عثمان كان

And amongst the Ulamā are those who called him a munāfiq/hypocrite because he said that Alī was power hungary and tried to get the Caliphate repeatedly but could not get it and he only fought for power and not for Religion.

فالزموه بالنفاق لقوله صلى الله عليه و سلم و لا يبغضك الا منافق

They (Ulamā) accused him of hypocrisy because Rasūl Allah ﷺ said that only a hypocrite will hate Alī.

In his refutation of the rāfiḍī scholar, Ibn Taymīyah had crossed all limits of decency. At one point whilst responding to the rāfiḍī accusation of Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān poisoning Imam

Ḥasan, he provides many reasons to argue that Mu`āwīyah did not poison him. But he says, if he did poison him then it was based on interpretation to kill the enemy like you do in war!

However, a contemporary Sunnī scholar from Egypt Dr Maḥmūd al-Sayyed Ṣabīḥ in his book *akhtā ibn Taymīyah* provides detailed refutation of the blasphemous statements made by Ibn Taymīyah. Here is one of the headings by Dr Ṣabīḥ of that book:

١٣ - خطأ جسيم لابن تيمية لا يغتفر إلا إذا تاب منه قبل رحيله
وهو تشبيهه غضب السيدة فاطمة الزهراء رضى الله عنها
من الصديق رضى الله عنه بغضب المنافقين

A huge mistake by Ibn Taymīyah that is unforgivable, unless he repented prior to death, was his likening the anger of Lady Fatima al-Zahrā (may Allah be pleased with her) towards al-Ṣiddīq (may Allah be pleased with her) with the anger of hypocrites.

These are self-explanatory concerns for a believer to comprehend and provide a glimpse into the Muftī Abū Layth-type of mindset. This brazen mentality has filtered from the school of Ibn Taymīyah.

The bias of Ibn Kathīr

The notable students of Ibn Taymīyah were al-Mizzī, Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, al-Dhahabī and Ibn Kathīr. They were prolific scholars indeed but belonged to the right wing fraternity and biased in their judgements with regards to the enemies of ahl al-bayt. A lengthy discussion could be presented on various issues but given the context and limited space in this document, a relevant point will be explored. We have consciously attempted to cite from Ibn Kathir and al-Dhahabī in particular in this document, when possible, in order to appeal to the wahābī psyche. Of the above mentioned students of Ibn Taymīyah, Ibn Kathīr is considered to be the most objective and moderate in his opinions and judgements. Hence, briefly a snapshot of his attitude will be presented to demonstrate his pro-Umayyad partisan approach so those who accuse reliable reporters of being a shī`ī, should study the attitude of their own reliable scholars.

Ibn Kathīr was, at times, heavily influenced by his teacher Ibn Taymīyah and adopted some of his erroneous opinions such as three-ṭalāq issue, classifying ḥadīth radd al-shams, madīnat al-ilm as fabrications, etc. Imam Ibn Ḥajr al-`Asqalānī in his al-durrar al-kāminah states:

واخذ عن ابن تيمية ففتن بحبه وامتحن لسببه

He took knowledge from Ibn Taymīyah and was captivated by him and tested due to it.

Ibn Kathīr was a Shāmī and Dimashqī and perhaps, it is also another reason why he on occasions praises and defends the nawaṣib and Umayyads. Consider the following passage from his al-bidāyah wa'l-nihāyah, Dār Hijr, 1997:

وقد روَى الإمامُ أحمدُ(٤) عن عفانَ وعبدِ الصمدِ، عن حمادِ بنِ سَلَمةَ، عن عليِّ بنِ زيدٍ(٥)، حدَّثني مَن سمِع أبا هريرةَ يقولُ: (٦) سمِعْتُ رسولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ يقولُ(٦): «لَيَرْتَقِيَنَّ(٧) – وقال عبدُ الصَّمدِ في روايتِه: لَيَرْعُفَنَّ(٨) – جبّارٌ مِن جَبابرةِ بني أميةَ على مِنْبري هذا». زاد عبدُ الصمدِ(٩): «يَسيلُ رُعافُه». قال: فحدَّثني مَن رأَى عمرَو بنَ سعيدِ بنِ العاصِ رعف(١٠) على مِنْبرِ النبيِّ ﷺ حتى سال رُعافُه. قلتُ: عليُّ بنُ زيدِ بنِ جُدْعانَ في روايتِه غَرابةٌ ونَكارةٌ، وفيه تَشَيُّعٌ، وعمرُو بنُ سعيدٍ هذا يقالُ له: الأَشْدَقُ. كان مِن ساداتِ المسلمين

وأشرافِهم(١)، (٢) رأَى النبيَّ ﷺ(٢)، وروَى عن جماعةٍ مِن الصحابةِ.

> Imām Aḥmed reported...Abū Hurayrah said that Rasūl Allah ﷺ said in the near future an oppressor from Ummayads will have a nosebleed on this mimbar of Mine ﷺ...and `Amr ibn Sa`īd was seen to have nosebleed flowing on the Mimbar of the Prophet ﷺ.
>
> I (Ibn Kathīr) say that: the reporter Alī Ibn Zayd ibn Jud`ān's report is strange and unknown and he had shī`ah inclination. And this `Amr ibn Sa`īd was known as al-Ashdaq (big-mouth). He was from the leaders of Muslims and from their nobles, he saw the Prophet ﷺ and reported from a group of Ṣaḥābah.

Ibn Kathīr declares `Amr ibn Sa`īd a ṣaḥābī as well as a noble leader of Muslims. On both counts, it is preposterous. al-Qasṭallānī in his Irshād al-Sārī, the commentry on Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, al-Suyūṭī in al-Tawshīḥ, al-Aynī in Umdah al-Qārī and here from Fatḥ al-Bārī of al-`Asqalānī state:

، وعمرو بن سعيد

هو ابن العاصي بن سعيد بن العاصي بن أمية القرشي الأموى يعرف بالاشدق، وليست له صحبة ولا كان من التابعين

باحسان.

> And `Amr ibn Sa`īd who is son of al-`Aṣ ibn Sa`īd ibn Umayyah al-Qarashī al-Umawī known as al-Ashdaq was not a Ṣaḥābī nor was he their follower in good deeds.

How can he be a Ṣaḥābī when his father was only eight years old when Rasūl Allah ﷺ passed away? See his biography, for exmaple, in Tahdhib al-Tahdhīb. It also states there that his nick name was laṭīm al-shayṭān meaning he was touched by Satan, to point to his evil character. Furthermore, Ibn al-Mulaqqin, al-Qasṭallānī and al-Aynī provide more details. Here from Badr al-Dīn al-`Aynī's Umdah al-Qārī:

سوى هذا الحديث وحديثين آخرين. **قوله: «لعمرو بن سعيد»**، هو عمرو بن سعيد بن العاص
المعروف بالأشدق لطيم الشيطان، ليست له صحبة، وعرف بالأشدق لأنه صعد المنبر فبالغ
في شتم علي، رضي الله تعالى عنه، فأصابه لِقْوَةٌ ولاّه يزيد بن معاوية المدينة، وكان أحب
الناس إلى أهل الشام، وكانوا يسمعون له ويطيعونه، وكتب إليه يزيد: أن يوجه إلى عبد الله

> `Amr ibn Sa`īd is Amr ibn Sa`īd ibn al-`Āṣ known as the big-mouth tocuhed by Satan, he was not a ṣaḥābī and he was called al-ashdaq (large mouthed) because he sat on the mimbar and heavily revliled Alī (raḍi Allah Ta`ālā anhu) and as result had facial paralysis. He was appointed the governor of Medina by Yazīd ibn Mu`awīyah and he was loved by the Shāmīs and they listened and obeyed him...

It obvious that he was neither a noble leader of muslims and nor a Ṣaḥābī as the prominent ḥadīth masters have unequviocally confirmed. It is an opposite picture to that which was painted by Ibn Kathīr. At times, Ibn Kathīr follows the path of moderation but somehow, it seems to me, that in his exoneration of the Umayyad atrocities and personlities, he is sometimes injudicious in his assessment. In conclusion, to cement the bias of Ibn Kathīr, an example from the prolific Ḥadīth master of the Deobandī school Allamah Anwar Shah al-Kashmīrī is provided from his commentry on Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī known as Fayḍ al-Bārī:

(عمرو بن سعيد) والي المدينة من جهة يزيد: ولم يذكر المحدثون سُوء حاله، إلا أني
رأيت حكايةً بالإسناد تدلُّ على شَقَاوته، حتى أخشى عليه سلبَ الإيمان، فلا أدري هل خفيتْ
عليهم أو ماذا؟ وكيفما كان ذِكرُهُ ههنا في ذيلِ القصة لا أنه راوي الحديث ليعدّ من رواة

> `Amr ibn Sa`īd was the governor of Medina appointed by Yazīd, the muḥaddithūn did not address his wicked character but I have read an incident with a chain of transmission which demonstrates his nastiness to the extent that I feel that he had lost his Imān. I could not understand why the muḥaddithūn remained quiet? Was it because they did not know or was it some other reason?

This was an observation by Allama Kashmīrī and we have already quoted from the prominent muḥaddithūn that they did not remain quiet but said a great deal in few words. Ibn Kathīr on one side criticises a reporter for his love of ahl al-Bayt and on the other side he exagerates in the defence of the enemy of ahl al-Bayt. What are we to deduce from such an attitude? At least, for our purposes in this article, it adds value to quote from the clique of Ibn Taymīyah when they also support our point of view.

The Judgement of ahl al-Sunnah Imāms on Ṣiffīn

Muftī Abū Layth's Nāṣbī argument that somehow Imam Alī was responsible is categorically not the opinion of ahl al-Sunnah. In the following, I will provide the judgements of a wide range of Sunnī Imams and Sunnī`Ulamā from all stripes, throughout the centuries on the issue:

Imām al-A`ẓam Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 150)

It is stated in many works of Ḥanafī Imams such as kitāb al-`Itiqād of al-Nisāburi (d. 432), Badr al-Dīn al-`Aynī, al-Kurdarī and others. Here it is quoted from one of the most authoritative Ḥanafī biographical works manāqib al-Imām al-`Aẓam by al-Muwaffiq al-Dīn al-Makkī al-Khwārzmī al-Ḥanafī (d. 568):

قال او تدرون لم يبغضنا اهل البصرة قلنا لا قال لانا نخالفهم في القدر وهو سنام امرهم قال او تدرون لم يبغضنا اهل
الشام قلنا لا قال لانا لو شهدنا عسكر علي بن ابي طالب ومعاوية لكنا مع علي رضى الله عنه على معاوية قال
او تدرون لم يبغضنا اهل الحديث قلنا لا قال لانا نحب اهل بيت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ونقر بفضائلهم

Imam Abū Ḥanīfah asked his people, do you know why the Shāmīs hate us? We said: No! He replied: Because if we were during the times of Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (raḍi Allah `anhu) and Mu`āwiyah, we would have fought on the side of Alī! And he said: Do you know why ahl al-ḥadīth hate us? We said: No! He replied: because we love the ahl al-Bayt and acknowledge their excellences.

Imām Moḥammed ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 189)

Abū Mohammed `Abd al-Qādir al-Qarashī al-Ḥanafī (d. 775) in his famous Ḥanafī Ṭabaqāt work al-Jawāhir al-Muḍīyah fī Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyah states from one of the two most prominent students of Imam al-A`ẓam Abū Ḥanifah, Imam Moḥammed al-Shaybānī (d. 189):

محمد بن أحمد بن موسى بن يَزْدَاذ

الرَّازِىّ ، اليَزْدَاذِىّ ، الفقيه ، القاضى ، الخازِن*

سمع عمَّه علىَّ بن موسى القُمِّىّ[2] ، ومحمد بن أيُّوب الرَّازِىّ .

وَوَلِىَ القضاءَ بسَمَرْقَنْد ، وسمع أهلُها عليه .

مات سنة إحدى وستين وثلاثمائة .

قال السَّمْعانىُّ : كان ثِقَةً فاضلًا .

وقال الحاكم : كان فقيه أصحابِ أبى حنيفة .

قال : سمعتُ عمِّى ، سمعت[3] أبا سليمان الجُوزْجَانىّ ، سمعتُ محمدَ بن الحسن

يقول : لو لم يُقاتِلْ مُعاوِيةُ عليًّا ظالمًا له مُتَعَدِّيًا باغيًا ، كُنَّا لا نَهْتَدِى لقتال أهلِ البَغْى .

> If Mu`āwīyah had not fought with Alī whilst being a Ẓālim/unjust and a bāghī/rebel who transgressed then we would not have known the rulings for fighting against rebels.

The earliest Sunnī Imāms and the two main pillars of the Ḥanafī school explicitly declared Ḥ Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān as an unjust rebel and Imām Moḥammed al-Shaybānī states that our judgements of law regarding the bāghīs/rebels depend on the practice of Imam Alī against Mu`āwīyah.

Imām al-Shāfi`ī (d. 204)

Imam al-Shāfi`ī's opinion is stated by al-Bayhaqī in his al-`Itiqād that whoever fought Imam Alī during his caliphate was a rebel/bāghī:

وكل من نازع أمير المؤمنين علي بن أبي طالب في إمارته فهو

باغ. على هذا عهدت مشايخنا وبه قال ابن إدريس - يعني الشافعي - رحمه الله

> Whoever fought Amīr al-Muminīn Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib during his Caliphate was a rebel and our teachers committed us to this and it is the position of Ibn Idrīs al-Shāfi`ī.

Furthermore, as mentioned earlier about Imam al-Shafi`ī, al-Bayhaqi in his Manāqib al-Shāfi`ī and al-Rāzī in his Manāqib al-Shāfi`ī relate the bias of Ibn Ma`īn against Imam al-Shāfi`ī in which he called him a Shī`āh because he considered Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān as a bāghī/rebel. Here quoted from al-Bayhaqī:

ومما(٣) حكى عن أبى داود السجستانى أن « أحمد بن حنبل » أخبر أن

« يحيى بن معين » ينسب « الشافعى » إلى التشيع، فقال له أحمد : تقول هذا لإمام من أئمة المسلمين ؟

فقال يحيى : إنى نظرت فى « كتابه(١) فى قتال أهل البغى » فإذا قد احتج من أوله إلى آخره بعلى بن أبى طالب .

فقال أحمد بن حنبل: عجباً لك ! فبمن كان يحتج الشافعى فى قتال أهل البغى، وأول من ابتلى من هذه الأمة بقتال أهل البغى على بن أبى طالب ؟ وهو الذى سنّ(٢) قتالهم وأحكامهم . ليس عن النبى ، صلى الله عليه وسلم ، ولا عن الخلفاء غيره - فيه سنة ، فبمن كان يستن ؟ فخجل يحيى من ذلك(٣) .

> Abū Dā'ūd reports from Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal that Yaḥya ibn Ma`īn called Imam al-Shāfi`ī a shī`ah. So Ibn Ḥanbal replied: you are saying this about an Imam of Muslims? Ibn Ma`īn replied: I have read the chapter of bāghīs/rebels in his book and from begining to end and he takes Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib as a proof. Ibn Ḥanbal replied: I am surprised at you; who else would al-Shāfi`ī justify his rulings against the bāghīs/rebels other than Alī? He was the first to have encountered by the bāghīs. Alī is the one whose Sunnah we have about the rules of engagement against rebels. It is neither reported from Rasūl Allah ﷺ nor from the example of earlier Khulafāh. After hearing this Yaḥyā ibn Ma`īn became ashamed.

As you can see, to class the Ṣiffīnī Shāmīs as bāghīs is not only the position of Imam al-Shaf`ī but also confirmed by Imam Aḥmed Ibn Ḥanbal as he corrected Ibn Ma`īn. al-Bayhaqī further explains from other discussion by Imam al-Shāfi`ī on the matter:

وفى كل هذا دلالة على أن الشافعى رحمه الله كان يعتقد فى «على» رضى الله عنه أنه كان محقاً فى قتاله مَنْ خرج عليه ، وأن « معاوية » ومن قاتله لم يخرجوا بالبغى من الإيمان ؛ لأن الله تعالى سمى الطائفتين جميعاً : مؤمنين ، والآية عامة . وجرى على ، رضى الله عنه ، فى قتالهم مجرى قتال[2] الإمام العدل من خرج من طاعته من المؤمنين ، وسار بسيرته فى قتالهم ، وقصد به حملهم على الرجوع إلى الطاعة ، كما قال الله تعالى : ﴿ فَقَاتِلُوا الَّتِى تَبْغِى حَتَّى تَفِىءَ إِلَى أَمْرِ اللهِ[3] ﴾ .

> All this proves that al-Shāfi`ī (raḥimahullah) believed that Alī (raḍī Allah anhu) was upon ḥaqq in his campaign and Mu`awīyah and others do not leave the fold of Imān due to their rebellion because Allah (swt) has called both groups as Muslims and the verse is upon its general import and Alī's (raḍī Allah anhu) fight was that of the Just Imām fighting those who disobeyed him and his intention was to bring them to obedience as Allah (swt) has said in Qur'ān that fight them until they return to the ordinance of God.

It is clear from the opinion of Imām al-Shāfi`ī like it was the opinion of Imām al-Shaybānī al-Ḥanafī before him that Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān and his party were rebels but their rebellion does not take them out of the fold of Islam; this means that their rebellion was fisq because he *only* negates the serious charge of leaving the Dīn.

al-Bayhaqī again explains the view of Imām al-Shafi`ī:

ثم ولا بد له من أن يعتقد كونه محقاً فى قتالهم . وإذا كان هو محقاً فى
قتالهم كان خصمه مخطئاً فى قتاله والخروج عليه ، غير أنه لم يخرج ببغيه عن
الإسلام ، كما حكينا عن الشافعى ، رحمة الله عليه ، فى متابعته علياً فى سيرته فى
قتالهم ، وتسمية الطائفتين جميعاً مسلمتين .

It is inevitable that those who believe that Alī was upon ḥaqq in his fight also hold that those who rebelled against him were at fault but this rebellion does not take them out of the fold of Islam as we have reported from al-Shāfi`ī (raḥimahullah) in his derivation of the rulings against the rebels from his sīrah and considering both groups as Muslims.

It is evident that only their kufr is negated but their transgression and sinfulness has been retained in the understanding of the statements of al-Shāf`ī. Moreover, an apologist of the Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān, Ibn Ḥajr al-Ḥaythamī also admits to al-Shāfi`ī's source of juridical opinion in his Fatḥ al-Jawād:

وقد قال الشافعي رضي الله عنه أخذت أحكام البغاة من قتال عليّ لمعاوية،

al-Shāfi`ī said: I derived the rulings about bāghīs from the example of Alī fighting Mu`āwīyah.

Imām Abū Manṣūr al-Māturidī (d. 324)

al-Zarqānī in his commentary on al-Mawāhib states:

وقال الإمام أبو منصور الماتريدي: أجمعوا على أن عليًا كان مصيبًا في قتال أهل الجمل:
طلحة والزبير وعائشة بالبصرة، وأهل صفين معوية وعسكره.

al-Imām Abū Manṣūr al-Māturidī said: there is consensus of scholars that Alī was in the right his fight at Jamal with Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and `Āishah at Baṣra and against Mu`āwīyah and his army at Ṣiffīn.

Since the protagonists at Jamal had repented for their campaign against Imam Alī as detailed earlier so this leaves Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān and his army who remained upon their rebellion.

Imām Abū al-Ḥasan al-`Asharī[5] (d. 332)

Ahmed ibn Alī al-Maqirīzī (d. 845) in his al-Khiṭaṭ quotes the opinion of Imam al-`Asharī:

قال ولا أقول فى عائشة وطلحة

والزبير رضى الله عنهم الا انهم رجعوا عن الخطأ وأقول ان طلحة والزبير من العشرة المبشرين بالجنة وأقول فى معاوية وعمرو بن العاص انهما بغيا على الامام الحق على بن أبى طالب رضى الله عنهم فقاتلهم مقاتلة أهل البغى وأقول ان أهل النهروان الشراة هم المارقون عن الدين وان عليا رضى الله عنه كان على الحق فى جميع

أحواله والحق معه حيث دار .

al-Asharī said: and I do not say about `Āishah, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr (raḍi Allah anhum) other than that they retracted their stance at Jamal and I say that Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr are from the ten who were promised paradise and I say about Mu`āwīyah and `Amr ibn al-Āṣ that they rebelled against the Imam on ḥaqq Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib (raḍī Allah anhu) and He fought with them the fight against bāghīs and I say about Khawārij of Nahrawan that they were the worst of people who left the Dīn like an arrow leaves the bow and that Alī (raḍī Allah anhu) was upon the truth on all his campaigns and whatever step he took, he was upon the ḥaqq.

Furthermore, prolific heresiographer al-Sharastānī (d. 548) in his celebrated work al-Milal wa'l-Niḥal states the opinion of Imām al-`Asharī:

وقال: لا نقول في عائشة وطلحة والزبير إلا أنهم رجعوا عن الخطأ وطلحة والزبير من العشرة المبشرين بالجنة، ولا نقول في معاوية وعمرو بن العاص إلا أنهما بغيا على الإمام الحق، فقاتلهم على مقاتلة أهل البغي.

Al-Asharī said: I do not say anything about `Aishah, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr other than that they retracted from their error and Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr are from the ten promised paradise and I do not say about Mu`āwīyah and `Amr ibn al-Āṣ other than that they were rebels and rebelled against the Imam upon ḥaqq and He fought against them because they were bāghīs.

[5] Some have erroneously attributed Risālah ilā ahl al-Thaghr to Imam Al-`Asharī but Ibn Khayr al-Ishbilī (d. 575) in al-Fihrist and al-Qāḍī al-`Iyāḍ (d. 545) in tartīb al-madārik attribute it to Ibn Mujāhid. Internally the risālah attributes a direction to God being above the `Arsh; which is not the position of Ashā`irah.

Imām Abū Bakr al-Jaṣṣāṣ al-Ḥanafī (d. 370)

The great classical Ḥanafī Uṣūlī Imām declares his position in his momentous work Aḥkām al-Qur'ān:

بسلاح وغيره وجب أن يجرى على عمومه وأيضاً قاتل على بن أبى طالب رضى الله عنه
الفئة الباغية بالسيف ومعه من كبراء الصحابة وأهل بدر من قد علم مكانهم وكان محقاً فى
قتاله لهم لم يخالف فيه أحد إلا الفئة الباغية التى قابلته واتباعها وقال النبى ﷺ لعمار تقتلك
الفئة الباغية وهذا خبر مقبول من طريق التواتر حتى أن معاوية لم يقدر على جحده لما
قال له عبد الله بن عمرو فقال إنما قتله من جاء به فطرحه بين أسنتنا رواه أهل الكوفة وأهل
البصرة وأهل الحجاز وأهل الشام وهو علم من أعلام النبوة لأنه خبر عن غيب لا يعلم
إلا من جهة علام الغيوب وقد روى عن النبى ﷺ فى إيجاب قتال الخوارج وقتلهم أخبار

Also, Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib (raḍī Allah anhu) fought the bāghī party with the sword and with him were senior ṣaḥābah and ṣaḥabah of Badr whose lofty status is known. He was upon ḥaqq against the rebels and none opposed him other than the bāghīs and their supporters and the Prophet ﷺ said that Ammār will be killed by the bāghīs and this ḥadīth is mutawātir so much so that even Mu`āwīyah could not deny it. And Abdullah ibn Amr reminded them of this ḥadīth, Mu`āwīyah said that Ammār was killed by those who brought him in front of our spears. This ḥadīth is reported from the people of Baṣra, Kūfa, Hijāz and Shām and it is from the proofs of the Prophet hood because it informs of the future event which cannot be known but by the knowledge provided by God.

Imām al-Jaṣṣāṣ is unequivocal about the judgement of rebellion about Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān and explicitly lables him with the import of the Ḥadīth about Ammār ibn Yāsir that he will be killed by the bāghī party.

Imām Abū Manṣūr al-Baghdādī (d. 429)

In his Uṣūl al-Dīn he states that at Jamal, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and Umm al-Mu'minīn had retracted from their initial position but about others partaking in Jamal and Ṣiffīn, he has the following to say:

فهؤلاء
الثلثة بريئون من الفسق والباقون من اتباعهم الذين قاتلوا علياً فسقة .
واما اصحاب معاوية فانهم بغوا وسماهم النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم بغاة
فى قوله لعمار: يقتلك الفئة الباغية ولم يكفروا بهذا البغى:

> These three (Ṭalḥa, Zubayr and Umm al-Mu'minīn) are absolved from fisq but the others who fought Alī at Jamal were Fāsiqs and as for the party of Mu`āwīyah, they were also bāghī and the Prophet ﷺ defined them as such in the ḥadīth about Ammār that he will be killed by the bāghīs but they did not commit kufr due to this rebellion.

It is clear that Imām Abū Manṣūr only exonorates the latter group of commiting kufr and states that they were Muslims but he does not absolve them of fisq. Such an opinion echoes the authentically reported opinion of Ammār ibn Yāsir as reported by Ibn Abī Shaybah in his al-Muṣannaf and al-Bayhaqī in his al-Sunan. Here from the latter:

١٦٧٩٩- أخبرَنا أبو زَكَريّا ابنُ أبى إسحاقَ، أخبرَنا أبو عبدِ اللَّهِ ابنُ يَعقوبَ، حدثنا محمدُ بنُ عبدِ الوَهّابِ، أخبرَنا جَعفَرُ بنُ عَونٍ، أخبرَنا مِسعَرٌ، عن عبدِ اللَّهِ بنِ رَباحٍ(١)، أن عَمّارًا ﷺ قال: لا تَقولوا: كَفَرَ أهلُ الشّامِ. ولَكِن قولوا: فسَقوا أو ظَلَموا(٢).

> Ammār (raḍī Allah anhu) said: Do not say that the shāmīs (Siffīnīs) are kāfir but say that they have committed fisq or ẓulm.

Imām Moḥammed al-Bazdawī al-Ḥanafī (d. 482)

Also from the classical times, Imam al-Bazdawī states in his Uṣūl al-Dīn:

قال «أهل السنّة والجماعة»: إن «معاوية حال حياة «على» رضى الله عنهما لم يكن إمامًا بل كان الإمام والخليفة «على» وكان «على» على الحقّ و«معاوية» على الباطل، إلا أنه كان متأوّلاً فيما يفعل، وما خرج عن الإيمان بمافعل، بل كان مسلمًا، وكذلك من كان معه من أتباعه لم يكفروا بمخالفة «على» وقتالهم معه على ما بيّنا

والدليل على أن «معاوية» كان غير محقّ: قوله عليه السلام «لعمار بن ياسر»: «تقتلك الفئة، الباغية» وقتله قوم «معاوية»

وقالت «الكراميّة»: إن «معاوية» كان إمام حقّ وكذلك «على» رضى الله عنه وهو خلاف قول النبى عليه السلام حيث جعلهم بُغاةً وخلاف إجماع «الصحابة» حيث اتّفقوا على خلافة «على» بعد «عثمان»

> Ahl al-Sunnah wa'l-Jamah say that Mu`awīyah during the life of Alī (raḍī Allah anhuma) was not an Imām but the Imām and Khalīfah was Alī and Alī was upon ḥaqq and Mu`āwīyah was upon Bāṭil/falsehood though he was interpreting what he was doing due to which he had not left the faith but he was a Muslim and similarly those with him were not kafirs due to their fight with Alī. and the proof that Mu`awīyah was not upon ḥaqq is what the Prophet ﷺ said that Ammār ibn Yāsir will be killed by bāghīs and he was killed by Mu`āwīyah's people.
>
> The Karrāmīyah sect say that Mu`āwīyah was Imām of ḥaqq and and similarly Ali (raḍī Allah anhu) was Imām of ḥaqq. And this is contrary to the saying of the Prophet ﷺ because He ﷺ declared them bāghīs and it is also against the Ijmā of Ṣaḥābah who agreed upon the Caliphate of Alī, after Uthmān.

Again we find that an Imām is explicitly calling Mu`awīyah and those with him as Bāghī because of the Ḥadīth about Ammār ibn Yāsir and as well as the Ijmā` of Ṣaḥābah upon the Caliphate of Imām Alī and only absolving them kufr.

Imām al-Bayhaqī al-Shāfi`ī (d. 458)

In his book al-`Itiqād, al-Bayhaqī delivers his judgement:

> وأما خروج من خرج على أمير المؤمنين علي رضي الله عنه مع أهل الشام
> في طلب دم عثمان ، ثم منازعته إياه في الإمارة ، فإنه غير مصيب فيما فعل ،
>
> And those who rebelled against Amīr al-Mu`minīn Alī (raḍī Allah anhu) from the Shāmīs in order to demand qiṣāṣ for Uthmān and then fought Him for power, they were in the wrong in what they did.
>
> إن الذي خرج عليه ونازعه كان باغيًا عليه ، وكان رسول الله ﷺ قد أخبر
> عمار بن ياسر بأن الفئة الباغية تقتله فقتله هؤلاء الذين خرجوا على أمير المؤمنين
> علي رضي الله عنه في حرب صفين .
>
> Those who rebelled against Alī and fought him were bāgḥī and Rasūl Allah ﷺ had said that Ammār ibn Yāsir will be killed by the bāghī party and those who killed him are the ones who fought Alī at the battle of Ṣiffīn.

According Imām al-Bayhaqī, there is no ambiguity that Imām Alī was on ḥaqq and those who fought him at Ṣiffīn were Bāghīs and indeed the leader of the pack is the first one to be included.

al-Qāḍī `Iyāḍ al-Mālikī (d. 544)

He states in his commentary on ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Ikmāl al-Mu`lim:

وقوله : « تقتله الفئة الباغية » : فيه حجة بينة للقول أنّ الحق مع عليّ وحزبه ، وأن عذر الآخر بالاجتهاد . وأصل البغى : الحسد ، ثم استعمل فى الظلم ؛ ولهذا حمل الحديث عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص يوم قتله وغيره ، لكن معاوية تأوله على الطلب ، قال: نحن الفئة الباغية لدم عثمان ، أى الطالبة له . والبغاء بالضم ممدود الطلب . وقد كان قبل ذلك قال : إنما قبله من أخرجه لينفى عن نفسه هذه الصفة ، ثم رجع إلى هذا الوجه [الآخر] (٣).

In this ḥadīth 'Ammār will be killed by bāghīs' there is proof that Alī and those with him were on ḥaqq and the excuse for the opposition is that of ijtihād. The original meaning of al-baghyī is jealously then it came to be used as oppression/ẓulm and this was understood by Abdullah ibn Amr ibn al-Āṣ when Ammār was killed but Mu`āwīyah said that it means seeking and we are seeking the blood of Utmān so we are the bāghī of seeking the blood of Uthmān, i.e., seekers for him. And al-Bughā with ḍamma means to to seek had the word bāghīyah was from it but prior to that Mu`āwīyah said that Ammār was killed by those who brought him, he did this to absolve himself from the meaning of rebellion but later he turned to this interpretation.

Even a right wing scholar applied the Ḥadīth about Ammār ibn Yāsir upon Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān and indicated that he could not deny the ḥadīth, and developed different excuses to get away from its actual import. The ḥadīth is in the praise of Ammār ibn Yāsir and not in praise of those who killed him hence the unrealistic flip-flop interpretations being developed were a just a pretext to save face. This has been discussed in a section earlier, where we have detailed the far-fetched interpretation.

Imām Burhān al-Dīn al-Marghinānī al-Ḥanafī (d. 593)

His famous classic Ḥanafī text of fiqh, al-Hidāyah taught in darsi niẓāmī:

على ربه فيلهم (٤) . ثم يجوز (٥) التقلد من السلطان الجائر كما يجوز من العادل ؛ لأن الصحابة (٦) تقلدوا من معاوية (٧) ، والحق كان بيد علي رضي الله عنه في نوبته (٨) ،

والتابعين تقلدوا (٩) من الحجاج (١٠)

It is permissible to be appointed as a judge under a tyrant ruler as it is allowed under a just ruler because ṣaḥābah became judges under Mu`āwīyah whilst the truth was with Alī (raḍi Allah anhu) and the tābi`īn were appointed judges under al-Ḥajjāj...

This is an explicit statement by the prominent Ḥanafī Imām in the unanimous Darsi Niẓāmī Ḥanafī text about the oppression of Mu`āwīyah Ibn Abī Sufyān. He has even drawn a direct comparison about the appointment of judges by Mu`āwīyah to that of tyrant Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf.

Imām Abū al-Qāsim al-Rāfi`ī al-Shāfi`ī (d. 623)

In his Talkhīṣ al-Ḥabīr on al-Sharḥ al-Kabīr by Imām al-Rāfi`ī, Imām al-`Asqalānī states:

قوله : ثبت أن أهل الجمل وصفين والنهروان بغاة . هو كما قال ، ويدل عليه حديث عليّ : « أمرت بقتال الناكثين والقاسطين والمارقين » . رواه النسائي(٤٧) في الخصائص والبزار(٤٨) والطبراني(٤٩) والناكثين : أهل الجمل لأنهم نكثوا بيعته ، والقاسطين : أهل الشام لأنهم جاروا عن الحق في عدم مبايعته ، والمارقين : أهل النهروان لثبوت الخبر الصحيح فيهم : أنهم يمرقون من الدين كما يمرق السهم من الرمية ، وثبت في أهل الشام حديث عمار : « تقتله الفئة الباغية » . وقد تقدم ، وغير ذلك من الأحاديث .

His (al-Rāfi`ī's) statement: It is established that people of Jamal, Ṣiffīn and Nahrawān were Bāghīs...and the evidence for that is the ḥadīth of Alī 'I have been commanded to fight the oath breakers, the transgressors and the leavers from Dīn. This ḥadīth is reported by al-Nasā'ī, al-Bazzār and al-Ṭibrānī. Oath breakers are the people of Jamal who broke their oath of allegiance and transgressors are the Shāmīṣ; who transgressed from ḥaqq by not taking the oath and the leavers are the people of Nahrawān by the evidence of established hadīth that they will leave the Dīn as an arrow leaves the bow and the it is proven about the Shāmīs that Ammār will be killed by the rebels.....

Imām Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī al-Shāfi`ī (d. 630)

al-Subkī in his al-Ṭabaqāt said that al-Āmidī was al-Usūlī al-Mutakallim and one of the geniuses of the World. In his systematic treatise on `Ilm al-Kalām Abkār al-Afkār, Imām al-Āmidī states the opinion of the majority of Sunnī scholars about the judgment on those who killed Uthmān ibn Affān and those who fought Imām Alī:

ومنهم من قال بتخطئة أحد الفريقين بعينة : ثُمَّ القائلون بهذا المذهب لا تعرف خلافًا [فيما](٢) بينهم فى تعيين التخطئة فى قَتَلَةِ عثمان ، ومقاتلى علىّ ﵁ ، وكذلك كل من خرج على كل من اتفق على إمامته ؛ لكن اختلفوا :

فمنهم من قال بأن التخطئة لا تبلغ إلى حد التفسيق : كالقاضى أبى بكر(٣) .

ومنهم من قال بالتفسيق : كالشيعة ، وكثير من أصحابنا(٤) .

The opinion of those who determined that one of the two groups is at fault: they said that there is no disagreement about the error of those who killed Uthmān and those who fought Alī (alayhi al-salām)...all have agreed that they were upon error but disagreed whether this error reached fisq. Of those who said it did not reach fisq like al-Qāḍī Abū Bakr and those who said it reached fisq are Shī`ah and Most of our school (Ashā`irah).

This is also the reading of al-Ẓarkashī of Imam al-Āmidī in his tashnīf al-masāmiḥ:

هذا مع القطع بتخطئة مقاتلي علي ، وكل من خرج على من اتفق
على إمامته ، لكن التخطئة لا تبلغ إلى حد التفسيق عند القاضي أبي بكر ، وقالت
الشيعة بالتفسيق ، ونسبة **الآمدي** لأكثر أصحابنا

It is with certainty that those who fought Alī were at fault and those who fought against an Imām whose caliphate is agreed upon. But this error does not reach fisq according to al-Qāḍī Abī Bakr but shī`ah considered it fisq and al-Āmidī said that majority of our school (Ashā`irah) consider it fisq.

Imām Abū al-Abbās al-Qurṭubī al-Mālikī (d. 656)

In his commentary al-Mufhim on ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, he states:

و (قوله ﷺ لعمّار بن ياسر ـ رضي الله عنه ـ: «تقتلُكَ فئةٌ باغيةٌ»، وفي لفظ
آخر: «الفئة الباغية») هذه شهادة من النبي ﷺ على فئة معاوية بالبغي، فإنّهم هم
الذين قتلوه؛ فإنه كان بعسكر عليٍّ بصِفِّين، وأبلى في القتال بلاءً عظيماً، وحرَّض
أصحابَ رسول الله ﷺ على قتال معاويةَ وأصحابه. قال أبو عبد الرحمن السُّلمي:
شهدنا مع عليٍّ صِفِّينَ، فرأيتُ عمّارَ بن ياسر لا يأخذُ في ناحية من أودية صِفِّين إلا
رأيتُ أصحاب محمّد يتبعونه كأنه عَلَمٌ لهم، قال: وسمعتُه يقول يومئذٍ لهاشم بن

The Prophet ﷺ said to Ammār ibn Yāsir (raḍī Allah anhu): you will be killed by the rebels and this is the proof from the Prophet ﷺ that Mu`āwīyah's group were rebels because they killed him whilst he was fighting from the side of Alī at Ṣiffīn. Ammār suffered greatly in the battle and he roused the companions of Rasūl Allah ﷺ to fight Mu`awīyah and his party. Abū Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī said: I participated in Ṣiffīn with Alī. I saw that wherever in the valley of Ṣiffīn Ammār went, the Ṣaḥābah of Moḥammed ﷺ followed him as if he was a symbol of truth for them...

أحد، ولما ثبت أنَّ أصحابَ معاوية قتلوا عمّاراً صدق عليهم خبرُ رسول الله ﷺ عنهم أنهم البغاة. وأنَّ علياً ـ رضي الله عنه ـ هو الحقُّ، ووجه ذلك واضح، وهو أن علياً ـ رضي الله عنه ـ أحقُّ بالإمامة من كلِّ من كان على وجه الأرض في ذلك الوقت من غير نزاع من معاوية، ولا من غيره. وقد انعقدت بيعته بأهل الحَلِّ والعقد من أصحاب رسول الله ﷺ وأهل دار الهجرة، فوجبَ على أهل الشام والحجاز والعراق وغيرهم مبايعته، وحرمت عليهم مخالفته فامتنعوا عن بيعته، وعملوا على مخالفته، وكانوا له ظالمين، وعن سبيل الحق ناكبين، فاستحقُّوا اسمَ البغي الذي شهدَ به عليهم النبيُّ ﷺ ولا يُنجيهم من هذا تأويلاتُهم الفاسدة؛ فإنَّها تحريفات عن سُنن الحق حائدة. نقل الأخباريون: أن معاوية تأوَّل الخبر تأويلين:

When it has been proven that the party of Mu`āwīyah killed Ammār then the statement of Rasūl Allah ﷺ applies to them that they are bāghīs and Alī (raḍī Allah anhu) is upon Ḥaqq. It is obvious that Alī (raḍī Allah anhu) was more rightful at the time than Mu`āwīyah or anyone else on Earth to be the Caliph. The allegiance to him had been taken by ahl al-ḥall wa'l-`aqd from the ṣaḥābah of Rasūl Allah ﷺ and the people of Dār al-Hijrah thus it was wājib upon the people of Shām, Ḥijāz, Iraq and others to pay allegiance to him and it was ḥarām for them to oppose his allegiance but instead they opposed him and became ẓālim towards Alī and obstructers from the path of ḥaqq. They deserve the title of bāghī because Rasūl Allah ﷺ declared them as such and their foul interpretations cannot save them from being rebels and their distortions preclude them from ḥaqq.

Imām Abū al-Abbās al-Qurtubī al-Malikī emphatically passes his judgement that Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān along with his supporters was bāghī. Furthermore, al-Qurṭubī refutes the two invalid interpretations that Ammār was killed by those who brought him and that we are seekers of the blood of Uthmān. He says that Ammār was not coerced to take part in the battle but he wanted to participate in the jihad to be on the path of Allah and also that if one says it means seeking the blood then the statement of the Prophet ﷺ becomes meaningless as it was addressed in praise of Ammār and not in praise of his killers. However, Imam al-Qurṭubī doubts that those interpretations are that of Mu`āwīyah due to being irrational and far-fecthed, and thinks that they are reported by historians and instead provides another with *ḥukīya* 'it has been reported' that instead he said that the killers of Ammār will go to hellfire. Al-Qurṭubī indicated with the passive statement that 'it has been reported' which means that this is a weak attribution.

We have discussed this in a preceding section that those interpretations of Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān are not spurious historical narrations but rather *authentically* transmitted by various muḥaddithūn. In addition to those interpretations, we have in Ṭabaqāt Ibn Sa`d, we have an additional statement of `Amr ibn al-Āṣ. As you have seen earlier that his son Abdullah ibn `Amr did not participate with his father and abstained due to Ammār ibn Yasir.

فلمّا وقع أكبّ عليه رجل آخر فاحتزّ رأسه ، فأقبلا يختصمان فيه ، كلاهما
يقول أنا قتلته . فقال عمرو بن العاص : والله إنْ يختصمان إلاّ فى النّار . فسمعها
منه معاوية ، فلمّا انصرف الرجلان قال معاوية لعمرو بن العاص : ما رأيتُ مثلَ
ما صنعتَ ، قومٌ بَذَلوا أنْفُسَهم دونَنا تَقولُ لهما إنّكما تختصمان فى النّار ، فقال
عمرو : هو والله ذاك ، والله إنّك لَتَعْلَمُه وَلَوَدِدْتُ أنّى مِتّ قبل هذه بعشرين سنة .

After the killing of Ammār Ibn Yāsir two people quarrelled with each other to claim the credit and said that I killed him. `Amr ibn al-Āṣ said to them you are fighting over hellfire. Mu`āwīyah heard this and when they left, he said to `Amr ibn al-Ās I have not see what you are doing, they are fighting for us and you are sending them to hellfire...

The interpretations of Mu`awīyah which Abū 'l-Abbās al-Qurṭubī refuted as false due to their unintelligible nature, and then he said that they have been reported by akhbārīs and casts doubt over them actually have been reported with sound chains of transmission as mentioned in a preceding section from Imam Aḥmed, Imam al-Nasā`ī, Imam al-Ṭibrānī, Imam Ḥākim, Imam Abū Ya`lā, Imam al-Ḥaythamī, Imam al-`Asqalānī and that they have been graded Ṣaḥīḥ and Ḥasan by eminent muḥaddithūn. One cannot negate these farfetched interpretations by Mu`āwīyah ibn Abī Sufyān and perhaps, they were overlooked by al-Qurṭubī. However, it also proves by the arguments of al-Qurṭubī that how invalid and irrational they actually are and he also emphatically in his judgement declares him and his party as bāghī.

Imām Moḥammed ibn Aḥmed al-Qurṭubī al-Mālikī (d. 671)

The mufassir, muḥaddith and faqīh unequivocally states and assents to the view in his *al-Tadhkirah* that there is consensus that Imam Ali ع was on the ḥaqq in his battles. He says:

والإجماع منعقد على أن طائفة الإمام طائفة عدل، والأخرى طائفة
بغي، ومعلوم أن علياً رضي الله عنه كان الإمام

Ijma` has been established that the party of al-Imām was just and the opposing party were rebels. And Alī was the truthful Imām.

Imam Moḥammed al-Qurṭubī al-Mālikī explicitly confirms as a rule and consensus that Imam Alī ع was in the right in all his battles and those fighting him were bāghī.

Ibn Taymīyah al-Ḥarrānī al-Ḥanbalī (d. 728)

The most significant figure in the Salafist Wahābī school of thought, whose pro-Umayyad bias is known, could not deny the force of the Ḥadīth about Ammār ibn Yāsir that he would be killed by the bāghīs. Here he comments in his Fatāwa:

وهذا ـ أيضاً ـ يدل على صحة إمامة على ، ووجوب طاعته، وأن الداعي إلى طاعته داع إلى الجنة والداعي إلى مقاتلته داع إلى النار ـ وإن كان متأولا ـ وهو / دليل على أنه لم يكن يجوز قتال علي ، وعلى هذا فمقاتله مخطئ، وإن كان متأولاً أو باغ بلا تأويل، وهو أصح القولين لأصحابنا، وهو الحكم بتخطئة من قاتل علياً وهو مذهب الأئمة الفقهاء الذين فرعوا على ذلك قتال البغاة المتأولين.

This hadīth also proves the legitimacy of the Caliphate of Alī and necessity of obedience to him and the one who invites to his obedience is calling to paradise and the caller to fight him is a caller to hell fire. Whether, it was based on interpretation, it is a proof that it is not permissible to fight against Alī and those who fought him were upon error whether bāghī based on interpretation or bāghī without interpretation. The latter view of the two is the most correct one according to our Ḥanbalī school that those who fought Alī were upon error and that is the opinion of jurists and they further derived the rulings from this about those who fought based on interpretation.

Ibn Taymīyah clearly states that those who fought for Alī were calling to paradise and those who fought against him were calling to hellfire, as the ḥadīth of Ammār ib Yāsir states.

al-Dhahabī (d. 748):

He is one of the students of Ibn Taymīyah and has a similar attitude. Imam al-Subkī and al-Kawthari have censured him for his bias on matters such as tashbīh and fadā'il of ahl al-Bayt. However, al-Dhahabī says in Sīyar Ālām al-Nubalā, about the Ḥadīth of Ammār's killing:

ونقول: هم طائفةٌ من المؤمنين بَغَتْ على الإمام عليٍّ، وذلك بنص قول المصطفى صلوات الله عليه لعمّار: «تقتُلُكَ الفئةُ الباغيةُ».

And we say that they are the party of believers who rebelled against al-Imām Alī and this is proven from the explicit statement of al-Mustafā ﷺ where He ﷺ said to Ammār: you will be killed by the rebel party.

Imām al-Zayla`ī al-Ḥanafī (d. 743)

In his Naṣb al-Rāyah states:

الشام بعده ، وأما إن الحق كان بيد علي في نوبته ، فالدليل عليه قول النبي ﷺ لعمار : « تقتلك الفئة
الباغية » ، ولا خلاف أنه كان مع علي . وقتله أصحاب معاوية ، قال إمام الحرمين في " كتاب الإرشاد ":
وعلي رضي الله عنه كان إماماً حقاً في ولايته ، ومقاتلوه بغاة ، وحسن الظن بهم يقتضي أن يظن بهم
قصد الخير ، وإن أخطأوه ، وأجمعوا على أن علياً كان مصيباً في قتال أهل الجمل ، وهم طلحة ،
والزبير ، وعائشة ، ومن معهم ، وأهل صفين ، وهم معاوية ، وعسكره ، وقد أظهرت عائشة الندم .

The ḥaqq was with Alī during his reign and the proof for that is the saying of the Prophet ﷺ that Ammār will be killed by the rebels. And there is no disagreement that he was with Alī and was killed by the party of Mu`āwīyah. Imam al-Ḥaramayn said in his book kitāb al-irshād: Alī (raḍī Allah anhu) was the rightful Imām and those who fought him were bāghīs and according to ḥusn al-ẓann their intentions were good though they erred. There is consensus that Alī was upon truth against the people of Jamal, that is Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and `Ayesha and those with them and against people of Ṣiffīn that is Mu`awīyah and his troops and `Ayesha regretted about her actions.

Imām Ibn Rajab al-Ḥanbalī (d. 795)

In his commentary on Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Fatḥ al-Bārī states:

وقد فَسّر الحسنُ البصري الفئة الباغية بأهل الشام : معاوية وأصحابه

al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī explained that the rebel party in ḥadīth are the shāmīs: Mu`āwīyah and his party.

Ibn Kathīr (d. 774)

In his al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah says:

قتله أهلُ الشامِ وبانَ بذلك وظهَر سِرُّه ما أخبَر به الرّسولُ ﷺ مِن أنّه تَقتُلُه
الفِئةُ الباغيةُ ، (٥) وبان بذلك أنَّ عليًا مُحِقٌّ وأنَّ معاويةَ باغٍ (٥) ، (٦) وما في ذلك مِن (٦)
دلائلِ النُّبوّةِ .

Ammār ibn Yāsir was killed by the shāmīs and the Rasūl Allah ﷺ foretold that he will be killed by the bāghīs hence Alī was upon truth and Mu`awīyah was a bāghī and this ḥadīth is from the proofs of the Prophethood

Imām al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī al-Ḥanafī (d. 816)

Imam al-Jurjānī empathically states the position of the majority of ahl -Sunnah in Sharḥ al-Mawāqif; which is the last book on the `aqīdah of ahl al-Sunnah taught in Darsi Niẓāmī:

والذي عليه الجمهور) من الأمة هو (أن المخطئ قتلة عثمان ومحاربو علي لأنهما إما
إمامان فيحرم القتل والمخالفة قطعاً) إلا أن بعضهم كالقاضي أبي بكر ذهب إلى أن
هذه التخطئة لا تبلغ إلى حد التفسيق، ومنهم من ذهب إلى التفسيق كالشيعة وكثير
من أصحابنا.

The majority of the Ummah say that those who killed Uthmān and fought with Alī were upon error because they were both rightful imāms and it is certainly ḥaram to kill and oppose them. Some like al-qāḍi abū bakr considered their error as not reaching fisq but those who considered this as fisq are the shī`ah and MOST of our ahl al-sunnah scholars.

Again, like other uṣūlī īmāms such as Imām al-Āmidī before him, al-Jurjānī states that most of ahl al-Sunnah consider that those who fought Imām Alī were not only upon error but their error amounted to Fisq.

Imām Ibn Hajr al-`Asqalānī (d. 852)

In his Fatḥ al-Bārī says:

عند الطبرانى وغيره ، وغالب طرقها صحيحة أو حسنة ، وفيه عن جماعة آخرين يطول عدهم ، وفى هذا الحديث علم
من أعلام النبوة وفضيلة ظاهرة لعلى ولعمار ورد على النواصب الزاعمين أن عليا لم يكن مصيبا فى حروبه . قوله فى

The ḥadith about Ammār ibn Yasir is a proof of Prophethood ﷺ and expresses an excellence of Alī and Ammār and refutes the nawāṣib who erroneously think that Alī was not in the right in his battles.

Moreover al-`Asqalānī says:

واحدة الرد على الخوارج ومن تبعهم فى تكفيرهم كلا من الطائفتين ، ودل حديث ، تقتل عمارا الفئة الباغية ، على
أن علياً كان المصيب فى تلك الحرب لأن أصحاب معاوية قتلوه ، وقد أخرج البزار بسند جيد عن زيد بن وهب قال
، كنا عند حذيفة فقال : كيف أنتم وقد خرج أهل دينكم يضرب بعضهم وجوه بعض بالسيف ؟ قالوا . فما تأمرنا ؟
قال : انظروا الفرقة التى تدعو إلى أمر على فالزموها فانها على الحق ، وأخرج يعقوب بن سفيان بسند جيد عن

The ḥadīth that Ammār will be killed by the rebels proves that Alī was in the right in his fight against the party of Mu`āwīyah who fought him and al-Bazzār has reported with a strong chain of transmission that Zayd ibn Wahb said that I was with Ḥudhayfah and he said: How would you behave when the people of your religion would fight each other? We said: Tell us what to do? He replied: Hold steadfast to those who call you to Alī because he will be on Ḥaqq...

Imām Badr al-Dīn al-`Aynī al-Hanafī (d. 855)

In his commentary on Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, al-`Aynī says:

فضيلة ظاهرة لعلي وعمار وردعلى النواصب الزاعمين ان عليا لم يكن مصيبا في حروبه

In this ḥadīth, the excellence of Alī and Ammār is manifest and a refutation of nawaṣib who erroneously think that Alī was not in the right in his battles.

al-`Aynī further comments towards the end of his book in the kitab al-fitan and seems to have developed clarity in his position and rescinded the ijtihādī mistake theory:

الكرماني: علي، رضي الله تعالى عنه، ومعاوية كلاهما كانا مجتهدين، غاية ما في
الباب أن معاوية كان مخطئاً في اجتهاده ونحوه. انتهى. **قلت:** كيف يقال: كان معاوية
مخطئاً في اجتهاده، فما كان الدليل في اجتهاده؟ وقد بلغه الحديث الذي قال ﷺ: ويح
ابن سمية تقتله الفئة الباغية، وابن سمية هو عمار بن ياسر، وقد قتله فئة معاوية، أفلا
يرضى معاوية سواء بسواء حتى يكون له أجر واحد؟ وروى الزهري عن حمزة بن

al-Kirmānī said that, both, Alī (radī Allah anhu) and Mu`awīyah were mujtahids and Mu`āwīyah's error was that of ijtihād. I say: How can he say that Mu`āwīyah erred in ijtihād, where is the evidence for his ijtihād? He indeed knew about the Ḥadīth that Ammār will be killed by the rebels and he was killed by the party of Mu`āwīyah...

Imām al-Aynī correctly and jurisprudentially argues that ijtihād is only in the absence of a text from the Qur'ān and Sunnah. Whereas in this case there is a clear text from Rasūl Allah ﷺ that those who will kill Ammār will be Bāghīs and in the wrong so how can it be an ijtihād when there is a naṣṣ? So al-`Aynī argued that Mu`āwīyah and party were rebels without making an ijtihādī mistake.

Imām Zakarīyah al-Anṣārī al-Shāfi`ī (d. 926)

In his commentary on Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, miḥah al-Bārī says:

(تقتله الفئة الباغية) ساقط من نسخة. والفئة الباغية في الأصطلاح الفقهي: فرقة خالفت الإمام، بتأويلٍ باطلٍ ظنًّا وبمتبوع مطاع وشوكة يمكنها مقاومته، وهي هنا أصحاب معاوية، الذين قتلوا عمَّارًا في وقعة صفين وهم أهل الشام.

In the ḥadīth, Ammār will be killed by the rebels; Bāghī in the technical meaning of jurisprudence means a powerful group who oppose the Imām with their false interpretation and in this ḥadīth, they are the party of Mu`āwīyah who killed Ammār at Ṣiffīn...

al-Mullā Alī al-Qārī al-Ḥanafī (d. 1014)

In his Sharḥ al-Shifā' states:

المفهوم منه أن سب غيرهما ليس كذلك لتفاوت رتبتهما هنالك وأما معاوية واتباعه فيجوز نسبتهم إلى الخطأ والبغي والخروج والفساد وأما لعنهم فلا يجوز أصلاً بخلاف يزيد وابن

As for Mu`āwīyah and his supporters, it is permissible to attribute error, rebellion and wickedness to them but cursing them is not permissible...

Imām Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Munāwī al-Shafi`ī (d. 1031)

In his book al-Taysīr says:

الا كوع ﷺ ويح عمار) بن ياسر (تقتله الفئة الباغية) قال البيضاوي يريد به معاوية وقومه (يدعوهم الى الجنة) أى الى سببها وهو طاعة الامام الحق (ويدعونه الى) سبب (النار) وهو عصيانه ومقاتلته وقد وقع ذلك يوم صفين دعاهم فيه الى الامام ودعوه الى النار وقتلوه

Mercy be on you Ammār! You will be killed by the rebel party. al-Bayḍāwī said: It means Mu`āwīyah and his people, and Ammār will call them to paradise means towards the cause of paradise and that is the obedience to the rightful Imām and they will call you to hellfire means towards the cause of disobedience and fight, and this occurred at Ṣiffīn in which he called them to the Imām and they called him to hellfire and killed him.

Moreover, he states in his Fayḍ al-Qadīr:

(ويح عمار) بالجر على الإضافة وهو ابن ياسر (تقتله الفئة الباغية) قال القاضى فى شرح المصابيح يريد به معاوية
وقومه اه وهذا صريح فى بغى طائفة معاوية الذين قتلوا عمارا فى وقعة صفين وأن الحق مع على وهو من الإخبار
بالمغيبات (يدعوهم) أى عمار يدعو الفئة وهم أصحاب معاوية الذين قتلوه بوقعة صفين فى الزمان المستقبل (إلى الجنة)
أى إلى سببها وهو طاعة الامام الحق (ويدعونه إلى) سبب (النار) وهو عصيانه ومقاتلته قالوا وقد وقع ذلك فى يوم صفين دعاهم فيه
إلى الامام الحق ودعوه إلى النار وقتلوه فهو معجزة للمصطفى وعلم من أعلام نبوته وإن قول بعضهم المراد أهل مكة الذين عذبوه أول

Ammār will be killed by the rebels, about this Ḥadīth al-Qāḍī says in Sharḥ al-Maṣābīh that it means Mu`awīyah and his party. And this is explicit about the rebellion of Mu`āwīyah's party who killed Ammār at Ṣiffīn and the Ḥaqq is with Alī and this ḥadīth is from the news of the future. To call them to paradise means that Ammār called Mu`āwīyah and his party towards it; who killed him at the battle of Ṣiffīn, in the future. To call towards paradise means to call to the obedience of the Imām on Ḥaqq and their call to hellfire means disobedience to the truthful Imām and they killed Ammār. This is from the miracles of al-Muṣṭafā ﷺ and amongst proofs of His ﷺ Prophethood....

Imām al-Munāwī not only provides his own opinion clearly but also that of al-Qāḍī al-Bayḍāwī (d. 685) that the rebels in the ḥadīth who will call to hellfire are Mu`āwīyah and His party. The erudite scholars of ahl al-Sunnah emphatically explained the import of the mutawātir Ḥadīth about the bāghīs and their falsehood in fighting Imam Alī. Since, the text mentions paradise and hellfire, though not entirely related in the discussion at hand, nevertheless, Imam Aḥmed Ibn Ḥanbal was once asked if Imam Alī is the distributor of paradise and hell. In Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah by al-Qāḍī Abū Ya`lā al-Hanbalī (d. 458) reports:

قال : وسمعت محمد بن منصور يقول : كنا عند أحمد بن حنبل فقال له رجل :
يا أبا عبد الله ، ما تقول فى هذا الحديث الذى يروى : أن عليا قال « أنا قسيم
النار » ؟ فقال : وما تنكرون من ذا ؟ أليس روينا أن النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم
قال لعلى « لا يحبك إلا مؤمن ، ولا يبغضك إلا منافق » ؟ قلنا : بلى . قال: فأين
المؤمن ؟ قلنا : فى الجنة . قال: وأين المنافق ؟ قلنا : فى النار . قال: فعلىٌّ قسيم النار

One of the students of Imam Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal, Moḥammed ibn Manṣūr said: we were with Aḥmed Ibn Ḥanbal and a man asked him: what do you say about the ḥadīth in which Alī says that I am the distributor of hell? Imam Ahmed replied: how can you deny this? Has it not been reported to us that the Prophet ﷺ said to Alī that only a believer will love you and only a hypocrite will detest you. We said: Yes. He replied: Where would the believer end up? We said: In paradise. He said: Where will the hypocrite end up? We said: Hellfire. He replied: Thus Alī is the distributor of hellfire!

Imām Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Dehlavī al-Ḥanafī (d. 1052)

In Takmīl al-Imān, the first book of `aqīdah of ahl al-Sunah written in the subcontinent:

وی ازان بنصوص قرآنی ثابت شده والابدعت وفسق بود وعلمای سنت
وجماعت گویند که نهایت کار معاویہؓوامثال وی بغی وخروج است
برامام برحق وخلیفه مطلق که علیؓ مرتضی باشد چنانچه درحدیث عمارؓبن
یاسرؓ که بسرحدشهرت وتواترمعنوی رسیده است۔

...it is the position of ahl al-sunnah that Mu`āwīyah's fight with Alī is considered as baghāwah and rebellion against the rightful Imām and Khalīfah; Alī Murtaḍā, and this is according to the mutāwatir ḥadīth about Ammār Yāsir...

Ibn al-`Imād al-Ḥanablī (d. 1089)

In his Shadhrāt al-Dhahab, comments:

ثلاثين ألفاً، وأهلُ الشام مائة ألف وخمسةٌ وثلاثين ألفاً، وكان في جانب عليٍّ
جماعة من البدريِّين وأهلِ بيعة الرِّضْوان، وراياتِ رسول الله ﷺ، والإجماع
منعقد على إمامته وبغي (٢) الطائفة الأخرى، ولا يجوز تكفيرُهم كسائر البُغاة،
واستدل أهل السُّنَّةِ والجماعة على ترجيح جانب عليٍّ بدلائل، أظهرُها وأثبتُها
قوله ﷺ لعمار بن ياسر: «تَقْتُلُكَ الفِئَةُ البَاغِيَةُ» وهو حديث ثابت(٣). ولما بلغ
معاويةَ ذلك قال: إنما قتله من أخرجه، فقال عليٌّ: إذاً قَتَلَ رسولُ الله ﷺ
حمزةَ لأنه أخرجه، وهو إلزام لا جواب عنه، وحجةٌ لا اعتراض عليها، وكان

On the side of Alī, there was a large group of Badrī Ṣaḥābah and Riḍwānī Ṣaḥābah and the flags of Rasūl Allah ﷺ and the ijmā` had been established upon his Caliphate and the others who fought were bāghīs but it is not permissible to call them kāfirs like other bāghīs and ahl al-Sunnah wa'l-jamā`ah prefer the side of Alī with proofs and the most strong of those is the Ḥadīth of the Prophet ﷺ that Ammār will be killed by the rebels and this is an established Ḥadīth and when Mu`āwīyah heard this he said that Ammār was killed by those who brought him. Alī replied that, that means Ḥamzah was killed by Rasūl Allah ﷺ because He ﷺ brought him to the battle. This is such a response which has no answer and such a solid proof that cannot be criticised...

al-Zarqānī al-Mālikī (d. 1122)

In his Sharḥ al-Mawāhib, he states:

لعلمنا أنا على الحق، وأنهم على الباطل»، يعني لقوله ﷺ: ««وتقتلك الفئة الباغية»،» فقتل مع
عليّ بصفين ودفن بها سنة سبع وثلاثين عن ثلاث أو أربع وتسعين سنة، والباغية هم أهل الشام
أصحاب معٰوية.

The Hadith that `Ammār will be killed by the rebels means that Ammār was killed on the side of Alī at Ṣiffīn.... and the rebels are the Shāmīs, the party of Mu`āwīyah...

Imām Moḥammed ibn Ismā`īl al-Ṣan`ānī (d. 1182)

In his commentary Subul al-Salām on Bulūgh al-Marām of al-`Asqalānī:

والحديث دليل على أن الفئة الباغية معاوية ومن في حزبه .
والفئة المحقة عليّ رضي الله عنه ومن في صحبته ؛ وقد نقل الإجماع من
أهل السنة بهذا القول جماعة من أئمتهم ؛ كالعامري وغيره ، وأوضحناه في
«الروضة الندية» .

The Ḥadīth is a proof that the rebel party is Mu`āwīyah and his group, and the Truthful are Alī (raḍī Allah anhu) and his party and there is Ijmā` of ahl al-Sunnah upon it as it has been reported by a group of ahl al-Sunnah Imāms, amongst them al-Āmirī and others. We have explicated the matter in our book al-rawḍah al-nadīyah.

al-Qāḍī al-Shawkānī (d. 1250)

The Salafī favourite al-Shawkānī clearly states in many of his works such as al-Fatḥ al-Rabbāni. Here it is from his work on jurisprudence Nayl al-Awṭār:

قوله: (أَوْلاهُمَا بِالْحَقِّ) فيه دليلٌ على أنّ عليًا ومن معه هم
المحقّون، ومعاوية ومن معهم هم المبطلون، وهذا أمرٌ لا يمتري فيه
منصفٌ ولا يأباه إلا مكابرٌ متعسّفٌ، وكفى دليلاً على ذلك
الحديث. وحديث «يَقْتُلُ عَمّارًا الْفِئَةُ الْبَاغِيَةُ» وهو في الصّحيح.

...In it there is proof that Alī and those with him were upon ḥaqq and Mu`awīyah and those with him were on falsehood and this is such a matter that no just person can deny it but only the prejudiced will deny it. The ḥadīth of `Ammār Yāsir being killed by the rebels is sufficient for this and that is Ṣaḥīḥ.

al-Shaykh Rashīd Ridā (d. 1354)

The famous Salafist scholar and admittedly the ideal of al-Albānī, in his Majallah al-Manār states:

«فان متبع الحق مستقل الفكر فيه بلاهوى ولا تعصب

لمذهب يجزم بأن معاوية نفسه كان باغيا خارجا على الامام الحق كالخوارج، وأنه طالب

ملك، ويؤيد ذلك إكراه الناس على جعل هذا الملك لولده يزيد المشتهر بالفسق»

Anyone investigating the truth objectively without sectarian bias and emotion will ascertain that Mu`āwīyah was a rebel, who transgressed against the rightful Imām like Khawārij did and he sought power for himself and this is supported by his forcing of people to transfer the throne to his son Yazīd; who was known for his fisq.

Allamah Rashīd Riḍā further says elsewhere in his Majallah al-Manār:

والاسفار «ونحن من أولياء علي عليه السلام والرضوان، لا من أولياء معاوية وفئته الباغية

عليهم من الله ما يستحقون، ولكننا لسنا بسبابين ولا لعانين كما ورد في وصف المؤمن

We are the supporters of Alī (alayhi al-Salām wa'l-Riḍwān) and not the supporters of Mu`āwīyah and the rebels; upon them be what they deserve but we do not curse and revile them because it is not from the qualities of a believer.

Since he was from Ḥusaynī Ashrāf, he says:

«وكيف نحب من بغى على جدنا وخرج عليه

How can we love who rebelled against our forefather.

Rashīd Riḍā at various places in his journal al-Manār explicated his reasoning and where he has also refuted Ibn Ḥajr al-Ḥaythamī for being biased in his assessment. Even though he was Salafī, he also extensively written on political philosophy of Islam and the exemplary high moral and ethical standards of al-Khulafāh al-Rāshidūn. Hence, his criticisms of the Umayyad rule. He explicates their injustices, rebellion and then imposition of Yazīd ibn Mu`awīyah upon the Ummah as a dynastic principle; which gripped the Ummah to this day. After writing on it, he relates the comments of a Nationalist German scholar in order to explain the reasoning behind the predicament, the Ummah finds itself:

من ثم قال أحد علماء الألمان المتعصبين لجنسيتهم انه ينبغي لنا أن نقيم لمعاوية تمثالا من الذهب في أعظم ساحة من عاصمتنا (برلين) وينبغي مثل ذلك لجميع شعوب أوربة . إذ لولاه لكانت هذه الشعوب كلها عربية تدين بالاسلام . وبين

Due to these reasons (which Rashīd Riḍā stated prior to this example) a racist German scholar said we ought to have a golden statue of Mu`āwīyah in our Capital City Berlin and all Nations should have one because if it was not for him, all Nations would have become Muslim.

al-Uthaymīn (d. 2001 CE)

Another staunch Salafī-Wahābī scholar says in his commentary on Bulūgh al-Marām:

معاوية، وبهذا الحديث النبوي نعرف أن جيش معاوية هو الفئة الباغية وأن جيش علي بن أبي طالب هو فئة أهل العدل؛ لأن العلماء يقولون الباغية ضدها العادلة، فالإمام ومن معه هم أهل العدل ومن يقاتلهم هم أهل البغي، فعمار بن ياسر ﵁ قتله جيش معاوية فيستحقون هذا الوصف

By virtue of this ḥadīth we know that the party of Mu`āwīyah is the rebel party and the party of Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib is the just party because scholars have said that bāghī is the opposite of just thus the Imām and those with him are just and thos who fought him are bāghī and since Ammār (raḍī Allah anhu) was killed by the army of Mu`āwīyah therefore they deserve the title of bāghī.

Ṣāliḥ al-Fawzān

A contemporary popular Salafī-Wahābī scholar in his Tashīl al-Ilmām states:

فدَلَّ على أن الفئة الباغية هم أهل الشام، لأنهم خرجوا عن طاعة أمير المؤمنين، لأنه ﷺ قال: «تقتلك الفئة الباغية»، وقتله أهل الشام وهو مع عليٍّ ﵁، فدل على أن الحق مع علي ﵁، وأن معاوية وأهل الشام على خطأ، وأن عملهم هذا بَغيٌ على ولي الأمر.

This proves that the rebel party are the Shāmīs because they rebelled against the Amīr al-Mu'minīn. The Prophet ﷺ said Ammār will be killed by the rebels and he was killed by the Shāmīs whilst he was fighting on the side of Alī (raḍī Allah anhu) and Mu`āwīyah and his party were upon error and were bāghīs.

Allamah Ṣiddīq Ḥasan al-Qunūjī (d. 1890 CE)

The famous ahl al-Ḥadīth scholar from the subcontinent says in his al-Sirāj al-Wahhāj:

قلت : وحديث الباب هذا : أدل دليل على بَغْي من خالف عليًّا ، بل نصّ في محل النزاع . لكن لا يَخْرج المسلم بمثل هذا البغي : عن دائرة الإسلام .

I say: the Ḥadīth in this chapter is from the strongest proof against rebellion of those who opposed Alī but rather this Hadīth resolves the debate on the issue. But such a bāghī does not go out of the fold of Islam.

Shah `Abd al-`Azīz Muḥaddith Dehlawī (d. 1239)

The fierce critic of rawāfiḍ and the author of the momentous refutation of Shī`ah 'Tuḥfah Ithnā Asharī'. He is a common scholar of Barelwīs and Deobandīs. In response to a Shī`ah objection, he states in Tuḥfah Ithnā Asharī:

اب رہا یہ شک کہ جب حضرت معاویہ رضی اللہ عنہ کا کردار باغیانہ تھا اور وہ ناحق غلبہ حاصل کرنے والے تھے تو ان پر لعن کیوں نہیں کرتے، تو اس کا جواب یہ ہے کہ اہل سنت کے نزدیک گناہ کبیرہ کے مرتکب پر لعن جائز نہیں اور چونکہ بغاوت بھی گناہ کبیرہ ہے اس لئے اس پر بھی لعن منع اور ناجائز ہے

Now only this doubt remains that when Ḥazrat Mu`āwīyah's (raḍī Allah anhu) character was those of bāghīs and he unjustifiably sought power then why we do not send la'nah upon him? The answer according to ahl al-Sunnah is that it is not permissible to send la'nah upon a person who has committed a kabīrah/major sin and since rebellion is a major sin hence la'nah is not allowed and it is prohibited.

Furthermore, he says in the same work towards the end:

اہلسنت کے مذہب کی یہ وضاحت وتحقیق انکے اصول طے شدہ کے بھی مطابق ہے کیونکہ انکا اتفاق ہے کہ ضروریات دین سے انکار کرنے والا کافر ہے۔ اور جناب امیر رضی اللہ عنہ کا ایمانی درجہ میں بلند ہونا، آپ کا جنتی ہونا، اور حضور صلے اللہ علیہ وسلم کی خلافت کے لائق ہونا نہ صرف احادیث سے بلکہ آیات قرآنیہ سے ثابت ہے، لہذا ان کا منکر کافر ہوگا۔ اور کم ظرفی، حب مال وجاہ، تاویل باطل، غلط فہمی یا کسی کے بھڑکانے اور بہکانے کی وجہ سے آپ سے لڑائی کفر نہیں فسق عملی یا اعتقادی ہے۔

The explanation of the point of view of ahl al-Sunnah is according to their established principles, it is their agreement that only the denier of the necessaries is out of the fold of Islam and the exalted status of Janāb-e-Amīr *raḍī Allah anhu* (meaning Imam Alī) and being Jannatī and possessing the ability of the Khilfah of Rasūl Allah ﷺ is not only proven from aḥādīth but also from the verses of the Qur'ān, therefore, the denier of those is a kāfir. But the one who fights him for the reasons of being a mean person, hungary for power and wealth, utilizing a false interpretation, misunderstanding or being led astray and instigated by someone then it is not kufr but it is fisq of actions or aqīdah.

Mu`āwīyah ibn Yazīd ibn Mu`āwīyah (d. 64)

The person considered to be the first ḥadīth teacher of students who took the systematic knowledge of ḥadīth to the subcontinent; Allamah Ibn Ḥajr al-Haythamī al-Makkī (d. 976) authored the famous book al-Ṣawā`iq al-Muḥriqah in refution of the Shī`ah. About his weakening of some ḥadīth in the fadā'il of ahl al-Bayt in that book, al-Shaykh `abd al-Ḥaq Muhaddith Dehlavī said in Sharḥ Sifr al-Sa`ādah and also indicated in Takmīl al-Imān that Ibn Ḥajr Makki was biased towards weakening the faḍā'il of ahl al-Bayt. However, in al-Ṣawā`iq, strangely, without criticism, he cites a sermon by the son of Yazīd whose name was Mu`āwīya; which he delivered when he refused to accept the bloodstained Caliphate. In that sermon, Mu`āwīyah, the son of Yazīd is very critical of his father and grandfather. Among other things, the following is what he said about his grandfather and father. The member of the immediate family says:

وَإِنَّ جَدِّي مُعَاوِيَةَ نَازَعَ الْأَمْرَ أَهْلَهُ ، وَمَنْ هُوَ أَحَقُّ بِهِ مِنْهُ عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ ، وَرَكِبَ بِكُمْ مَا تَعْلَمُونَ حَتَّى أَتَتْهُ مَنِيَّتُهُ فَصَارَ فِي قَبْرِهِ رَهِينًا بِذُنُوبِهِ ، ثُمَّ قُلِّدَ أَبِي الْأَمْرَ وَكَانَ غَيْرَ أَهْلٍ لَهُ ، وَنَازَعَ ابْنَ بِنْتِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ فَقُصِفَ عُمْرُهُ ، وَانْبَتَرَ عَقِبُهُ وَصَارَ فِي قَبْرِهِ رَهِينًا بِذُنُوبِهِ ،

> My grandfather Mu`āwīya fought unjustly with the rightful Caliph Alī ibn Abī Tālib and for that he is burning in his grave for his sins, and my father Yazīd seized the government for which he was not suited and he persecuted the Family of the Noble Prophet ﷺ for which he is burning in his grave for his sins.

This is indeed a damning verdict by the grandson about his grandfather. Mu`āwīyah ibn Yazīd did not live long after his abdication.

al-Mullā Alī al-Qārī al-Ḥanafī (d. 1014)

Already the conclusions of al-Mullā Alī al-Qārī have been presented at a chronologically appropriate place in this document from his work Sharḥ al-Shifā'. In his voluminous work, namely, Mirqāt al-Mafātīḥ; which is a commentry on Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ, he sums up the entire discussion about 'Ammār will be killed by the rebels' and provides an unequivocal judgement of his opinion. The Ḥanafīs, atleast, consider him the mujaddid of the tenth century and in my view, if one does not study the entire article and just reads the view of al-Mullā Alī Alī al-Qārī al-Ḥanafī, it would be sufficient for a clarity on the issue. He states in Mirqāt al-Mafātīḥ:

بقوله: (تقتلك الفئة الباغية) أي الجماعة الخارجة على إمام الوقت وخليفة الزمان. قال الطيبي: ترحم عليه بسبب الشدة التي يقع فيها عمار من قبل الفئة الباغية يريد به معاوية وقومه فإنه قتل يوم صفين. وقال ابن الملك: اعلم أنّ عماراً قتله معاوية وفئته فكانوا طاغين باغين بهذا الحديث لأن عماراً كان في عسكر علي وهو المستحق للإمامة فامتنعوا عن بيعته. وحكي أن معاوية كان يؤوّل معنى الحديث ويقول: نحن فئة باغية طالبة لدم عثمان. وهذا كما ترى تحريف، إذ معنى طلب الدم غير مناسب هنا لأنه ﷺ ذكر الحديث في إظهار فضيلة عمار وذم قاتله لأنه جاء في طريق ويح. قلت: ويح كلمة تقال لمن وقع في هلكة لا يستحقها فيترحم

عليه ويرثى له بخلاف ويل، فإنها كلمة عقوبة تقال للذي يستحقها ولا يترحم عليه. هذا وفي الجامع الصغير برواية الإمام أحمد والبخاري عن أبي سعيد مرفوعاً: «ويح عمار تقتله الفئة الباغية يدعوهم إلى الجنة ويدعونه إلى النار»[1]. وهذا كالنص الصريح في المعنى الصحيح المتبادر من البغي المطلق في الكتاب كما في قوله تعالى: **﴿وينهى عن الفحشاء والمنكر والبغي﴾** [النحل ـ ٩٠]. وقوله سبحانه: **﴿فإن بغت إحداهما على الأخرى﴾** [الحجرات ـ ٩]. فإطلاق اللفظ الشرعي على إرادة المعنى اللغوي عدول عن العدل وميل إلى الظلم الذي هو وضع الشيء في غير موضعه. والحاصل أن البغي بحسب المعنى الشرعي والإطلاق العرفي خص من عموم معنى الطلب اللغوي إلى طلب الشر الخاص بالخروج المنهي، فلا يصح أن يراد به طلب دم خليفة الزمان وهو عثمان رضي الله عنه. وقد حكي عن معاوية تأويل أقبح من هذا حيث قال: إنما قتله علي وفئته حيث حمله على القتال وصار سبباً لقتله في المآل؛ فقيل له في الجواب، فإذن قاتل حمزة هو النبي ﷺ حيث كان باعثاً له على ذلك والله سبحانه وتعالى حيث أمر المؤمنين بقتال المشركين. والحاصل أن هذا الحديث فيه معجزات ثلاث إحداها أنه سيقتل، وثانيها أنه مظلوم، وثالثها أن قاتله باغ من البغاة والكل صدق وحق. ثم رأيت الشيخ أكمل الدين قال: الظاهر أن هذا أي التأويل السابق عن معاوية وما حكي عنه أيضاً من أنه قتله من أخرجه للقتل وحرضه عليه كل منهما افتراء عليه، أما الأوّل فتحريف للحديث. وأما الثاني فلأنه ما أخرجه أحد بل هو خرج بنفسه وماله مجاهداً في سبيل الله قاصداً لإقامة الفرض. وإنما كان كل منهما افتراء على معاوية لأنه رضي الله عنه أعقل من أن يقع في شيء ظاهر الفساد على الخاص والعام. قلت: فإذاً كان الواجب عليه أن يرجع عن بغيه بإطاعته الخليفة ويترك المخالفة وطلب الخلافة المنيفة فتبين بهذا أنه كان في الباطن باغياً وفي الظاهر متستراً بدم عثمان مراعياً مرائياً. فجاء هذا الحديث عليه ناعياً وعن عمله ناهياً. لكن كان ذلك في الكتاب مسطوراً. فصار عنده كل من القرآن والحديث مهجوراً فرحم الله من أنصف ولم يتعصب ولم يتعسف وتولى الاقتصاد في الاعتقاد لئلا يقع في جانبي سبيل الرشاد من الرفض والنصب بأن يحب جميع الآل والصحب (رواه مسلم).

Ammār will be killed by the rebels means that the group will rebel against the Imām and khalīfah of the times. al-Ṭībī said: The Prophet ﷺ sent mercy upon him due to the intensity with which he was killed by rebel party and He ﷺ meant Mu`āwīyah and his party because they killed him at Ṣiffīn. Ibn al-Malik said: Know that Ammār was killed by Mu`āwīyah and his party whilst they were tyrannical rebels as this ḥadīth states because Ammār was in the army of Alī; who was the rightful Caliph and they rejected to pay allegiance to him. It has been related that Mu`awīyah interpreted the meaning of this ḥadīth by saying that we are bāghī party because we seek the retaliation for the blood of Utmān and this response as you can see is a distortion/taḥrīf of the meaning and improper here because the Prophet ﷺ stated this to express the excellence of Ammār and disparage his killers as it is addressed with the word 'wayḥ'. I say: Wayḥ is a word applied to the one who is put in destruction which he does not deserve, and mercy and lamentation is sent upon by him by this word. On the other hand, the word wayl is a punitive word and said to one who deserves punishment and does not merit mercy. And in al-Jāmi` al-Ṣaghīr from the report of Imām Aḥmed and al-Bukhārī from the elevated narration of Abū Sa`īd states: Mercy be on you! You will be killed by the rebels whilst you

will call them to paradise and they will call you to hellfire. This is an explicit text expressing the true meaning of al-baghyī in the absolute sense as in the Qur'ān 16:90: Allah forbids immorality, bad conduct and oppression (al-baghyī). And also in Qur'ān 49:9: But if one of them oppresses (baghat) the other. The distortion of the application of the Islamic shar`ī term to its linguistic meaning is transgression because it is applying a meaning that is not its place. Thus, al-baghyī in its Islamic connotation means oppressive rebels and it is not right to transfer the meaning and to apply it to seeking the blood of Uthmān (raḍī Allah anhu) from the Khalīfah of the times. Another interpretation has also been reported from Mu`āwīyah; which is uglier than the previous one that Ammār was killed by Alī and his party because He brought him to our weapons. It was replied to him: In this case then Ḥamzah was killed by the Prophet ﷺ because he took him to the battle. (it is also false) because how then can God al-Mighty command the believers to fight the mushriks, if that is the case? Therefore, in this ḥadīth there are three miracles. First, he will be killed. Second, he will be wronged/oppressed. Third, he will be killed by rebels and each one is right and truth...

I say (Conclusion of al-Mullā Alī al-Qārī): when it was wājib for Mu`awīyah to repent from his rebellion by paying allegiance to the Caliph and abandon his opposition...it became evident that inwardly he was a rebel and outwardly hiding behind the demand for the blood of Uthmān. This hadith deplores him and his actions...

In the preceding section, you have witnessed the views and opinions of great Imāms of ahl al-Sunnah, as well as Wahābīs, on the issue. The common feature to which I have specifically focussed and quoted is the judgement that it is unanimously agreed by all that those who fought Imām Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib at Ṣiffīn were *Bāghīs*. They were rebels and unjustified in their fight against Mawlā Alī. On this point all have agreed though some have stated that they were bāghīs indeed but this rebellion was based on ijtihād. Others have said that they were tyrannical, oppressors and ẓālims. The point was to provide an insight that Ḥaqq was with Alī in all his campaigns and it is agreed upon by all. Finally, it is appropriate to end with the conclusions of our great mujtahid Imāms. It is stated and assented by Imām Abū al-Khaṭṭāb Ibn Diḥya al-Mālikī in his Ā`lām al-Naṣr al-Mubīn, Imām Moḥammed ibn Aḥmed al-Qurṭubī al-Mālikī in his al-Tadhkirah, Imām Moḥammed ibn `Abd al-Bāqī al-Ẓarqānī al-Mālikī in Sharḥ al-Mawāhib and Imām `Abd al-Ra`ūf al-Munāwī al-Shāfi`ī in his Fayḍ al-Qadīr. Here it is from Imām al-Munāwī:

لا جواب عنه وحجة لا اعتراض عليها وقال الامام عبد القاهر الجرجانى فى كتاب الإمامة أجمع فقهاء الحجاز والعراق
من فريق الحديث والرأى منهم مالك والشافعى وأبو حنيفة والأوزاعى والجمهور الأعظم من المتكلمين والمسلمين أن
عليا مصيب فى قتاله لأهل صفين كما هو مصيب فى أهل الجمل وأن الذين قاتلوه بغاة ظالمون له لكن لا يكفرون

Imām Abdul Qāhir al-Jurjānī states in his book al-Imāmah that jurisconsults of Ḥijāz and Iraq from ahl al-ḥadīth and Rayy have unanimously agreed, among them were **Mālik, Shāfi`ī, Abū Ḥanīfah, al-Awzā`i and the great majority of theologians and Muslims** that Alī was in the right at Ṣiffīn as he was right at Jamal and those who fought him were unjust/ẓālim rebels/bāghīs but they were not kafirs on account of their rebellion.

Therefore, in light of this entire discussion and judgements of prominent Imāms and scholars, it clear for an objective minded person to see that Imām Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib was upon Ḥaqq and those who fought him were bāghīs. Since, Ṭalḥā, al-Zubayr and Umm al-Mu'minīn had retracted from their position and repented, hence they cannot be called unjust-rebels but all others at Jamal and Ṣiffīn were Bughāt Ẓālimūn.

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NOTE: The quoted extracts attached in the document are to support a *specific* point under discussion. I have tried to simplify the technical discussions and also endeavoured to provide an idiomatic translation for the benefit of all, where possible. I have only reviewed it once after writing it so naturally there may be errors. I suggest that you print it and then read it. This is a work in progress and will be a larger book, in-shā-Allah. One of the reasons for the delay in response was the lack of time for such a huge undertaking as you can see; the document is based on hundreds of Books. I had taken a huge chunk of time, out of my PhD studies for which my supervisor in not happy.

Please keep me in your Du`ās.

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